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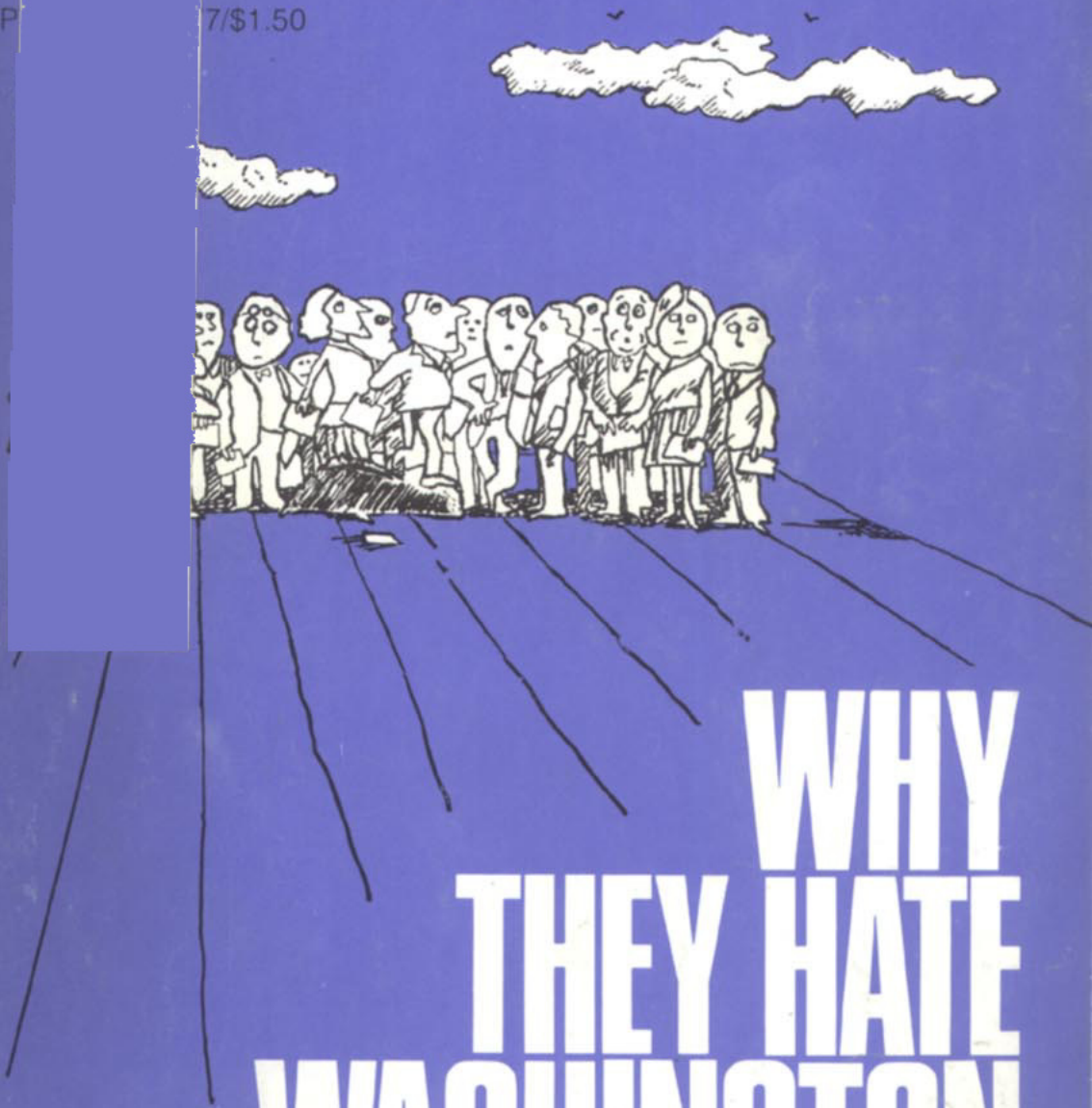

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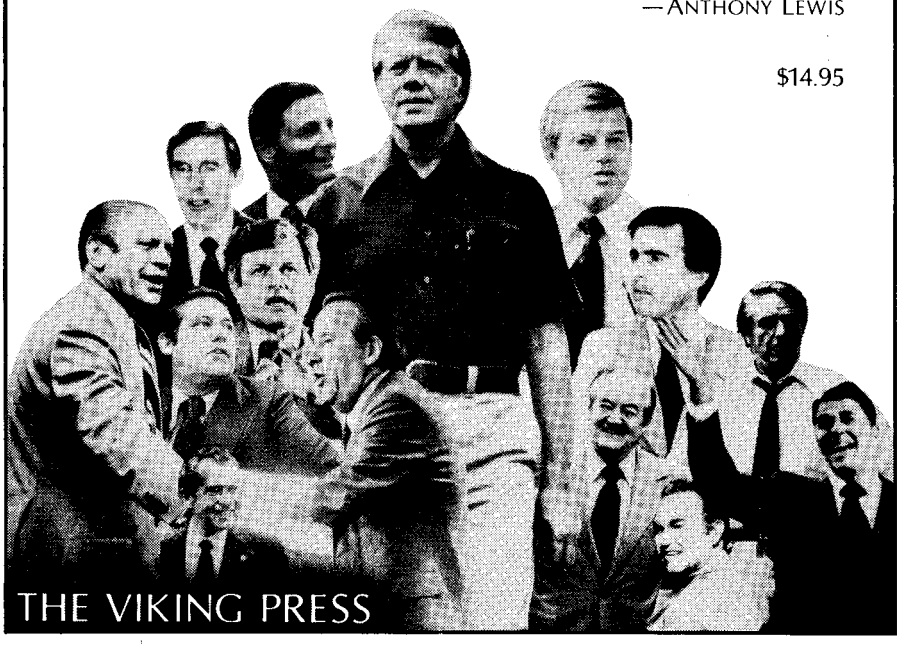

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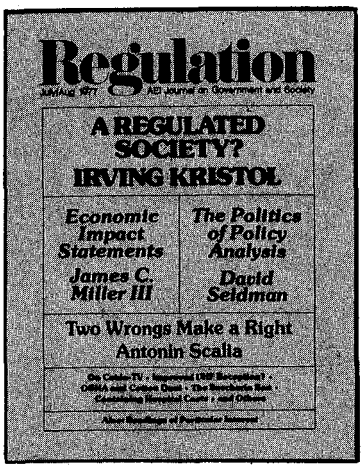

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SEPTEMBER 1977

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Letters

"Tilting at Windmills" in the June issue (which I'm just seeing on return from abroad) is delightful and useful. But in the Bobby Kennedy item you omitted the point—which he used to tell on himself.

When Bobby told some more experienced Washington hand how impressed he was at the number of Justice employees who had come in on the holiday, that person reminded him of the Washington's Birthday sales in the downtown stores.

ANTHONY LEWIS
Boston, Massachusetts

Anthony Lewis is a columnist for The New York Times.

Your description of the position of your three friends at Brookings disturbs us because of the context ["Tilting at Windmills," June]. In the paragraph for which the Brookings lunch is the topic sentence, you observe that many people, including politicians themselves, look down on politicians. A reader might reasonably—but erroneously—infer from the sequence of statements in the article that your luncheon companions are in the group that condemns politicians. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

It seems to us that admirable politicians far outnumber the disgraceful ones, and that the average quality and moral standards of the profession are not self-evidently different from the averages for the population as a whole, which is not surprising in a representative system. Moreover, political work is hard and not altogether pleasant. We have few illusions about politicians, but on the whole, we respect them, and we feel obliged to set the record straight.

When we disputed your proposed method of increasing presidential control over the bureaucracy by making half the employees of the federal government political appointees of the President, we were objecting to the inefficacy of the method, not the alleged deficiencies of politicians. When the federal government had a spoils system, the President's control of the machinery of government was weakened, not strengthened. He had to bargain away appointments to powerful political interests for their support, and the appointees felt beholden to their sponsors, not to the President. As one chief executive put it, every time he made an appointment, he produced one ingrate and nine enemies. The autonomy of a protected civil service is a problem the country must try to solve, but your solution would simply make things even worse from the President's point of view. The spoils system will not contribute to what you claim you want it to achieve—executive mastery of the administrative machinery of government. When we criticized your plan, it was the weakness of the plan, not the faults of politicians, on which we rested our case.

HUGH HECLO
STEPHEN HESS
HERBERT KAUFMAN
Washington, DC

Heclo, Hess and Kaufman are senior fellows at the Brookings Institution.

Charles Peters replies:

My friends say they don't look down on politicians but then proceed to describe what could be called democratic accountability as the "spoils system." This is the label the civil service lobby pinned on a system under which an official elected by the people chooses the subordinates he thinks are best equipped to carry out the programs the people elected him to implement. Of course such a system can be perverted, but so can the civil service. In fact, as we have pointed out, the present civil service is a patronage ring based not upon politics, nor upon merit, but upon friendship. Civil servants, because they are almost impossible to fire, are often neither civil to the public nor servants of it. On the other hand, people who are hired—and can be fired—by elected officials have a reason to be responsive to the public. The post office worked much better when postmasters were named by the congressman in whose districts they served. The congressman wasn't about to put up with sloppy performance that could anger his constituents and lose him votes. What *The Washington Monthly* wants is to guard against the weaknesses of both the civil service system and the political "spoils system" by having an equal number of both instead of the 99-percent civil service we now have in the federal government. My friends also demonstrate a flawed grasp of recent history. More political appointees were hired by Franklin Roosevelt than by any other President. His "control of the machinery of government" was certainly not weakened thereby.

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Tilting at Windmills

The funny man on the White House speech-writing team is Jerry Doolittle. Unfortunately, because of the need for official piety, some of his best efforts do not see the light of day. Our favorite is his tribute to the late Werner von Braun: "He aimed for the stars but sometimes he hit London."

Haynes Johnson of *The Washington Post* recently wrote about a teacher who asked her students to describe their most perfect place. "She's shattered, she says, when the answer comes back over and over: their most perfect place is alone in their private rooms at home where they can shut the door, turn on the TV or lock themselves into their stereos. 'It's back to the womb,' she says."

Johnson continues:

"No matter. It's summertime, and the living is easy. Jimmy Carter's in charge. Without ardor, without rhetoric, without ideology, without drama, he's leading us. That's his job. We hired him. He's leaving us alone, and that suits us fine. Can that call to arms, we've got the stereo blaring and the air-conditioning humming."

The administration's indifference to the problem of self-absorption, its lack of effort to stimulate concern for others, is illustrated by the fact that it has taken eight months to appoint a Peace Corps director.

There *is* an absence of ardor in the new administration. Powell and Jordan, whose style is influential with the rest of the White House staff, affect a fifties cool about causes. Only in the reorganization group in OMB and in the domestic staff at the White House is there any hint of urgency, of exciting tasks at hand. Mostly, people are enjoying the life made possible by their new prominence and their high salaries. *Environmental Action* magazine seemed to us to capture the spirit perfectly when, in an article about environmentalists who have gone to work for the administration, it ran this headline: "Laboring in the public interest pays off. At last—a big office, a big salary, and a big title." The old causes are seen as part of a dues-paying past; for now, they just don't seem to care.

Or maybe they sense their leader doesn't want them to care. It's certainly clear he doesn't want them to think. Carter believes in the downward flow of ideas—downward from himself. He doesn't want staff members barging into his office with exciting new ideas. In fact his unwillingness even to see younger members of the staff was recently the occasion of a memo of protest from one of his junior aides, Jane Frank. Carter thinks he wants the broadest range of opinion, but by confining its trans-

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mittal to the two or three senior aides through whom everything flows, he's guaranteeing he won't get it.

No-fault automobile liability insurance is clearly an idea whose time has come, but society will pay a price for its enactment. It means that plaintiffs' attorneys, whose main source of income is auto accidents, will have to find other work. These lawyers stand out in America as part of the dwindling breed of people who are truly independent. Their ability to win large judgments for accident victims—and large fees for themselves—gives them an immunity from the pressures that make most people conform. They don't have to butter up big clients. They don't have to get along with the corporation executive or the union leader. Most of them drink too much and have an excessive amount of macho in their character, but they are free spirits who can tell the bank president to go to hell and not wake up frightened the next morning. Those of us left behind in organization America will mourn their loss.

There are now 160,000 public school students enrolled in special programs for the intellectually gifted. A recent article in *The Washington Post* describes students working in chemical laboratories, creative writing, computer mathematics, environmental science, madrigal singing, painting, and playing musical instruments. But no one was studying politics. There may be a Bronx High School of Science and a Fiorello La Guardia School for the Performing Arts, but nowhere is there a special program for students interested in politics and government.

Our political skills will determine our survival, but few high school students take any courses in politics. Even when they get to college, they seldom take more than one.

One reason they don't is the dismal state of the art of teaching about public affairs. Politics is equated with Tammany Hall and political science with dull essays by Seymour Martin Lipset (see page 12 of this issue).

We need courses that describe how the government really works. For example, a course on lobbies could begin with this marvelous item from Betty Beale's column in *The Washington Star* that shows exactly how the "we're all just friends" lobbyists ply their trade. The one crucial fact not mentioned in the story is that Frank Ikard is the number-one lobbyist for the oil companies:

"As hot as it was Sunday, one couple was bemoaning the fact that they were headed for Martha's Vineyard the next day. The Frank Ikards had signed up for a place at Edgartown, 'but it's so much fun where we live, I wish we weren't going away,' said Jane.

"The night before some of the owners of the Kalorama Square houses were sitting around their joint pool when the Ikards remembered they had enough chili to feed everyone. Whereupon other edibles were produced from other houses, and they had an impromptu party.

"Kalorama Square inhabitants include newsmen Scotty Reston and Phil Geyelin and their wives; Sen. and Mrs. Lloyd Bentsen; the Philip Whites; lawyer Bernard Gordon and spouse. Soon to move in are former EPA chairman Russell Train and his Aileen, and Rep. and Mrs. Bill Moorhead, D-Pa."

Here's another truth about the way the system works that doesn't get into the political science textbooks. If you want to get money from Washington, the time to try is at the end of the fiscal year when federal agencies panic that they might leave unspent any money appropriated for them this year, thus providing Congress with an excuse for reducing next year's appropriation. Lest you think this is sheer

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speculation on our part, the Government Accounting Office has just reported that 65 per cent of all government research and development contracts were issued in the final month of the most recent fiscal year. For one agency, the Federal Railroad Administration, 42 per cent of the contracts were issued in the last ten *days* of the year.

Our national ignorance about government extends even to the people who work within it. For example, most members of the executive branch do not understand the Congress and most members of the Congress don't understand the executive branch. They seldom ask one another the right questions. We therefore want to congratulate Richard A. Pettigrew, a presidential assistant working on reorganization, who recently did something members of the executive branch almost never do. Instead of treating Congress as an enemy to be threatened or cajoled, he asked it for help. He asked the members of Congress to let him know what federal programs weren't, in the opinion of their constituents, working. This is something that congressmen who analyze their mail know a lot about. So for once, instead of a pious and totally hypocritical exchange of "we want to work together" between the executive and legislative branches, we may have a genuine case of cooperation in the public interest. Of course it's still possible that the congressmen won't take the time to answer or that Pettigrew will simply file away their replies.

Do intelligent conservatives have to spoil their act with snobbery? First we had William Buckley, now George Will. On a recent television show, Will put someone down for using "the language of a locker room at a not very good country club." Think about that for a while. More seriously, Will has shown a consistent disdain for the unruly poor—from his comments on the Hearst free-food riot to those on the last time the lights went out in New York (those people, he said, "lack the character traits necessary for life in a free and lawful society").

One yearns for Mr. Will to write a column that acknowledges the truth of this AP story, dated July 22:

"CHICAGO—The crowd of 2,000 surged into a new supermarket, hungry for work, not food. There were seven applicants for each job.

" 'We're desperate,' one black woman cried. 'Desperate for jobs.'

" 'I need this job bad,' Bernard Meeks declared. 'I've been out of work for nearly five years.'

"This was Chicago's South Side on a day when 300 jobs, most of them part-time and paying only $3.05 to $3.90 an hour, became available.

" 'Tell President Carter that black people here are trying to get a gig,' declared one woman. 'Gig' is a musician's word for a job.

" 'These people are just looking for a job,' said Police Sgt. Lorenzo Chew. 'They aren't breaking any laws. I guess this shows what the unemployment situation is in this community.'

"While the State says unemployment is only 4.3 per cent for the Chicago metropolitan area, for the city itself it is 5.8 per cent—and, the mayor's Office of Manpower says, the rate of black unemployment in Chicago is 10 per cent.

"Dennis McAvoy, research director for the manpower office, adds that the figures don't include those too discouraged to keep on looking for work. If they did, he said, black unemployment here would be more like 20 per cent—and even higher among unskilled young black men.

"Chicago is also not the only city with such a situation in the inner city. When it was time to apply for summer jobs in New York City earlier this year, thousands of youngsters lined up the night before—at some spots 15 applicants for each job. In Los

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Angeles, a handful of civil service openings also drew long lines—and last year, one opening as an elevator mechanic's helper for Los Angeles drew 917 applicants."

But while we pray that Mr. Will will discover mercy, liberals must face the fact that some of the poor have been so brutalized that, in the words of William Raspberry of *The Washington Post*, "Some of them may be beyond turning around. Protecting ourselves against them may be the only answer." This means giving tough sentences to the violent and keeping a wary eye on those who are not dangerous but who look upon larceny as a lark.

In the old movie, "On the Waterfront," Terry Malloy, the character played by Marlon Brando, is rewarded with the scorn of his colleagues and even physical beatings for blowing the whistle on racketeering in the longshoremen's union. But by the end of the movie, everyone realizes he is right and he is hailed as a hero. Such has not been the path of the whistle blower in the federal government. Carter promised in his campaign that he would turn every whistle blower into a Terry Malloy. Instead, he appointed as Secretary of Defense Harold Brown, the man who as Secretary of the Air Force under Johnson had written the infamous memo on the three ways to fire Ernie Fitzgerald, the man who had blown the whistle on the C-5A.

Fitzgerald got his job back, not through Carter, but through a law suit. But Fitzgerald then exposed another Air Force scandal, illegal spending on the $800-million Advanced Logistics System. This has infuriated all the Air Force team players, and Fitzgerald is again isolated, with Brown's apparent approval, from any real responsibility.

The most depressing news about the President has to be the report that he calls foot faults on his opponents when he's losing at tennis. . . . The White House has given a lot of publicity to the reduction in the size of its staff. There has not, however, been any mention of the 163 employees who work at the White House but are listed only on the records of other executive agencies. They are called "detailed personnel" and represent a hallowed way of hiding White House staff that seems to be continuing in full force under Carter. . . . We still can't understand why Carter doesn't

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propose gasoline rationing to deal with the energy problem instead of taking the inflationary route of higher prices.... They say Admiral Turner of the CIA is the kind of pol who constantly uses your first name: "Now tell me what you think, Joe. I want you to know, Joe...."

The Washington Area Council of Governments has begun a $10-million project to improve its transportation by Greyhound bus between the District and Dulles Airport. The first $500,000 will be spent on painting the buses to give them a new design and logo.... Is there an anti-poverty project perfectly suited to the energy level of the average civil servant? We think so. Look for it as you pass through Wilmington on the train. It's called the Sunday Breakfast Mission.... If you stopped reading *The New Republic* because you thought it was too predictable, try it again. A recent article about the isolation of affluent Washington is the kind of thing we thought appeared only in *The Washington Monthly*, but under a new managing editor, Michael Kinsley, almost every issue has at least one fresh article. In fact, the only way the publication is predictable these days is in its staunch refusal to admit that Israel can do wrong or the Arabs right.

The number of public employees has climbed to 17.4 million.... Nixon was right about the mining of Haiphong Harbor. It helped bring the North Vietnamese back to serious negotiation and it didn't kill anyone.... Ruskin was right about Turner.... Sixties liberals were wrong to concentrate their anti-war fire on the bombing. This led them to relax their efforts when Johnson halted the air war. But the real slaughter was going on down below with Westmoreland's search-and-destroy missions.... Journalism used to be the worst paid profession. But things are changing. If you read Sally Quinn's recent series on the Arabs in London, it was clear that the author was staying at the Savoy.... The Gay Rights advocates can be tiresome, but from time to time something happens that reminds us that they do have legitimate grievances. A recent report from Fort Rucker, Alabama, said that Army Spec. 4 Marie Sode was mustered out of the service for "homosexual tendencies" because she married a transsexual. There was not the slightest evidence that this woman had failed in any of her duties.... Disturbing signs that this White House gang is just like all the rest: Carter's decision to go with the maritime lobby on the oil cargo preference and media advisor Gerald Rafshoon's role as manager of the maritime industries' advertising and public relations efforts in behalf of the bill.... Jody Powell's purchase of a $115,000 home without a down payment.... A Carter in-law hired as a Washington lobbyist for Coca-Cola.

One indication of how accustomed we have all become to enormous legal fees is the lack of press comment about the $35,202.50 bill that Philip Lacovara's firm submitted to the House Ethics Committee for the month of June. This is an annual rate of $422,550.00.... The House Veteran's Affairs Committee recently voted to raise benefits for Vietnam veterans. But the new benefits still don't cover the tuition, much less the living expenses, of many of the recipients. Our indifference to these veterans has to be one of the real scandals of our time.... Carter says he never suffers from jet lag. He also says he ranked first in a speed reading class conducted in the White House. The other participants were probably worried about eye faults.

—Charles Peters

COMING IN OCTOBER

A new column on political books by **Richard Reeves.**
Tom Bethell explains what's wrong with the Washington novel, and **Arthur Levine** parodies the genre at its worst.

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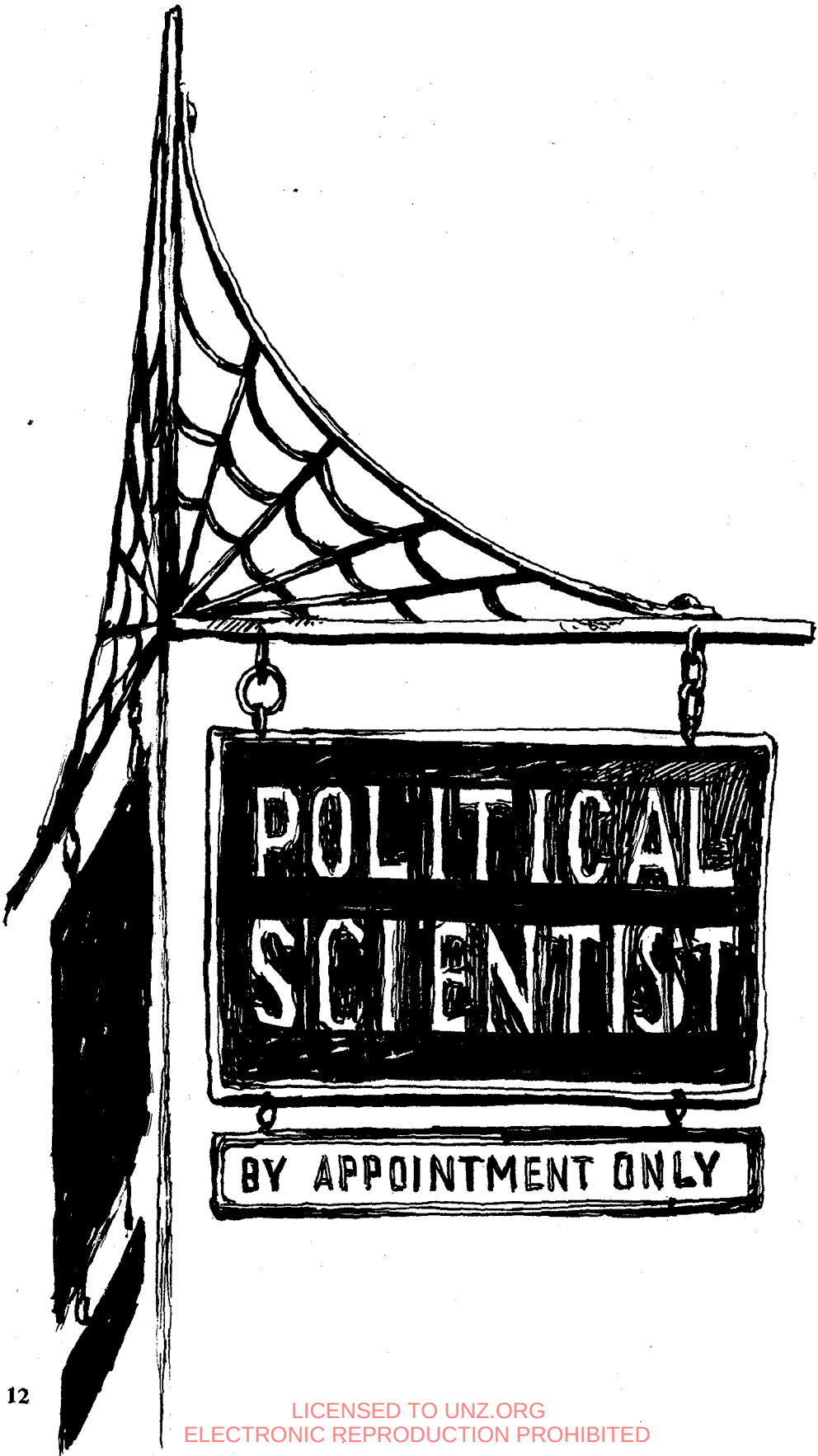

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What's Wrong With Political Science

by Michael Nelson

I don't know how many times I've had this conversation.

"I'm a grad student in political science," I'd tell people foolish enough to ask.

"Oh, mm-hmm. That must be very interesting. What does one do with a degree in, uh, political science?"

"I plan to hang out a shingle. You know: 'Michael Nelson. Political Scientist. By Appointment Only.' "

"Hang out a—? Oh, I get it, very funny. No, really, what does one do with a—"

"One teaches."

That is about the extent of what a political scientist can do with all his years of advanced and specialized training: teach undergraduates who are, I suppose, hoping to learn how to read the newspaper a bit more intelligently, and teach the graduate students who will someday take his place. The "real world" places almost no value, financial or aesthetic, on the training we political scientists receive. And the academic well is about dry: by the early 1980s, the American Political Science Association (APSA) reports, there will be no new faculty positions in political science.

"If a political scientist comes to Washington and waves his sheepskin," says Thomas Mann of APSA, "he'll get his ass kicked. People in government, in business, in the media, and so on have no expectations of us at all. In fact, some employers have to be convinced that a political scientist isn't overly handicapped by what he learned in graduate school."

Maybe I'm crazy, but this bothers me. You would think, wouldn't you, that newspapers (which report on government), businesses (which are vitally affected by what government does to and for them), and the government itself would have some interest in the services of highly educated people who study government for a living. You would think, to be crassly material, that the market would be willing to pay such people for their services.

After all, other social sciences are valued in the marketplace. Nearly half of America's psychologists and economists actually practice their professions. A psychologist can hang out a shingle and reasonably expect that people will come knocking at his door. *Psychology Today* sells half a million copies every month; "pop" psychology books like *I'm OK, You're OK* frequently crowd the best-seller lists. The bearer of a Ph.D. in economics may not get on the Council of Economic Advisers or *Time*'s Board of Economists, but he can take some comfort in knowing that these things exist as he chooses from a range of high-paying careers in business and government.

Even sociologists and anthropologists do better. While we in the political science department at Johns Hopkins walked around on linoleum floors and sat in creaky chairs supplied by the university, the sociologists upstairs enjoyed wall-to-wall carpeting and plush conference rooms,

Michael Nelson is an editor of The Washington Monthly. *He was assisted in the research for this article by Marie Hurley.*

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paid for out of the grants they were continually receiving to study this or that. Sociologists get six times per capita what political scientists get in research money from the federal government; anthropologists four times; economists eleven times.

I won't belabor the comparison. Suffice it to say that there is no *Political Science Today* magazine, no Council of Political Science Advisers. When Watergate (a purely political crisis if there ever was one) exploded the world turned not to us but to lawyers and historians to find out what had gone wrong. The National Science Foundation "had to be bludgeoned into accepting political science as a legitimate social science," according to an APSA report. The Civil Service Commission recognizes anthropologists, economists, et al. as distinct occupational categories, but—you guessed it—not political scientists. Thomas Mann reports that "even when political scientists get jobs outside the classroom, they turn their backs on us. They say 'political science doesn't tell me anything; it's obscure, it's outdated, it's unintelligible.' In fact, they would be no more inclined to hire a political scientist than anybody else."

But economists, psychologists, and the rest actually seem to thrive on the incomprehensibility of what they say and do. People who look at our journals and sneer at the jargon and statistics look at an equally baffling economics journal, slacken their jaws, and hire an economist to translate for them. "It's like the scene in Moliere," a fellow-sufferer told me, "where the guy asks the doctor why opium makes you sleep and the doctor says it's because of opium's soporific power. If a political scientist said something like that they'd laugh; if an economist or a psychologist said it they'd give him a grant."

Forward Through the Centuries

None of this brings us any closer to an answer. In truth, the only place we are likely to find out why political science is so little valued is in this history I am about to tell.

You may well suppose that you are about to be taken back to the ancient Greece of Aristotle and Plato, guided about, and led triumphantly forward through centuries of Augustine, Locke, Rousseau, Jefferson, and the other distinguished political thinkers of history. You are not. Modern political scientists don't claim kin with the likes of them. When Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus wrote their semi-official history, *The Development of Political Science*, they said, "We deliberately limited our attention to those aspects of the past which bear directly on the present 'state of discipline.'" That took them back not to Plato's cave but to New York in 1880.

This may seem strange (in the same way that not claiming legitimate royal ancestry would seem strange), but it provides a handy excuse when you ask a political scientist why nobody is buying or listening to what his profession has to say. "You've got to remember," Austin Ranney, a political scientist with a Washington think tank, the American Enterprise Institute (and thus a bit of an exception himself) told me, "that we're a very young discipline, less than a hundred years old. Modern economics and the others go back a century or more before that. They had a head start."

The story begins, then, just before the turn of the century, at a time when there was hardly any "modern" political science worth talking about. But this was the heyday of the professional, and every trade from barbers on up was caught up in the rush to organize itself. By 1903, the historians, economists, and sociologists had formed associations, so those few scholars who were chiefly interested in the goings-on of governments figured they had better get on the bandwagon too. The American Political Science Association was created, its rather vague purpose being to "do for political science what the American Economic and American Historical Associations are doing for econom-

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ics and history," according to one of its founding fathers.

There was just one problem: because political scientists abandoned their own philosophical heritage for the sake of aping their colleagues, it was now hard to find two of them who agreed on what their newly professionalized discipline was. Was it contemporary history, as some argued, or political economy, or political sociology, or law, or what? An English historian named Morse Stephens complained that after two frustrating years in the United States, he had been unable to find anyone who could explain to him what this political science was supposed to be.

Unfortunately, things went downhill from there. If, as Shaw said in *The Doctor's Dilemma*, "all professions are conspiracies against the laity," political science at the age of 21 was clearly a failed one. Though APSA had tried to establish all the trappings of a profession—journal, conventions, and so on—by 1924, only a handful of colleges recognized political science as meriting a department of its own; the rest lumped it in with history or something. Further, political science was becoming an intellectual desert; the typical scholarly *oeuvre* consisted of sleep-inducing, legalistic descriptions of the formal institutions of government.

'Make X Happen'

What made political science's failure even worse was the success that its sister social sciences were enjoying. They advanced because they *built* on their philosophical foundations rather than abandoning them. After a century or more of Adam Smith, David Ricardo, Karl Marx, and several others—people who had thought about the great economic questions at their most profound, theoretical level—economics produced its Keynes, a doer who could take this knowledge and show how the economy could be not only understood, but directed. At about the same time, psychology turned up its Freud and sociology its own somewhat lesser lights, Weber and Durkheim. What distinguished the theories of this new generation was that when people outside academics came to the professors who had mastered them and said, "Make X happen," the social scientists could tell them which knobs to turn—and sometimes X happened.

They weren't always right, of course, but they were right just often enough so that people began to believe that theirs were true sciences. At that point , they were free to get as statistical and obscure to the layman as they wanted. Which they did, cognizant perhaps that the hooey just made them seem all the more scientific. In fact, as the mental, social, and economic health of the nation worsened, one could always count on an increase in the number of psychologists, sociologists, and economists hired. That's success.

But this didn't help political science any as it sat home on APSA's 21st birthday, all dressed up and no

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place to go. Having rushed to imitate its fellows by professionalizing, it now found itself a profession without a clientele. The feeling was strong that something had to be done to make the rest of the world sit up and take notice; not surprisingly, two very different schools of thought emerged on what that something ought to be.

Professor Thomas Reed led one of them. It was Reed's ambition to transform political science from an enterprise of dry and largely unread description to an instrument of "education for democratic citizenship:" political science would see to it that both citizens and public officials were thoroughly trained to exercise their powers and meet their responsibilities. Reed briefly managed to grab control of APSA; he also turned up $75,000 in Carnegie Corporation money, which financed a lot of conferences and the like.

But Reed's vision was not nearly so bold, nor his foundation resources so vast, as those of Professor Charles Merriam of the University of Chicago. In 1924, Merriam was 50 years old, a vibrant, articulate scholar-politician. Seeing how well the other social sciences were doing with their jargon and models, he trumpeted a new, "behavioral" approach to the study of politics that would be as scientific as the rest of them. Its methods would be statistical and technical, its avowed purpose to discover the basic laws of political behavior. So eager were many of the political scientists of that and succeeding generations to get once again on the economists' and psychologists' bandwagons—to follow their colleagues in hope of sharing in their prestige—that they rallied enthusiastically to Merriam's call. But in their eagerness they ignored a central point: scientific methods enable one only to test theories, not to create them; theories are born of those long years of "unscientific" stewing and pondering that political science, unlike the other social sciences, had never gone through.

Still, Merriam had another selling point that was, if anything, even more compelling than his vision: millions of dollars in Laura Spelman Rockefeller Fund money for his newly created Social Science Research Council (SSRC). Beardsley Ruml, the Fund's director, was a young alumnus of the University of Chicago who had admired Merriam greatly and later became his close personal friend.

To political scientists, particularly during the depression years that followed, those dollars were virtually all the research money there was to be had. Scholars who hoped to receive grants soon saw the advantages in doing behavioral studies; universities found that by setting up independent political science departments they could lure some of the money their way. Clearly the Merriam wing was holding all the cards: status, professional envy, and money.

'Conversions to the Faith'

Propelled by the proliferation of computing devices, European intellectual currents, and the general ascendancy of science, the behavioral tide surged even stronger after World War II. Soon the Ford Foundation was pouring in all sorts of money to fund behavioral research in the social sciences; "[w]idespread knowledge of this situation," Somit and Tanenhaus note in their history, "did not adversely affect conversions to the faith."

Merriam's intellectual heirs eventually began to think him a bit antiquated, for Merriam had been personally active in politics outside the classroom and saw no conflict between his avocation and his scientific studies of the subject. But the new behavioralists eschewed personal value judgments on the grounds that morals clouded understanding; through their logic, politics took a back seat to science. It got to the point where one could pick up the current issue of the *American Political Science Review* and come away blissfully ignorant of all the burning politi-

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cal questions of the day. When Hubert Humphrey, a one-time doctoral candidate in political science, among other things, let it be known in 1969 that he might like to teach at the University of Minnesota, the highly behavioral department there rebelled—after all, what did Hubert Humphrey know about modern political science?

Perhaps nothing illustrates the barrenness of the behavioral movement—its sacrifice of concern for learning how the system really works for the sake of intricate statistical models—better than the University of Michigan's Center for Political Studies. As wealthy Midwesterners once sent their daughters East for finishing, so graduate departments now pack off their progeny to Michigan each summer to learn the latest in statistics and modeling. In a sense, it is the mecca of modern political science.

Michigan's flagship has been its election studies series. Back in the dark, pre-behavioral days, students of politics used to approach elections primitively, by exploring questions like these: What is their role in a democracy? What effects do they have on what the government does? Are elections a good or bad thing? The first contribution of the Michigan people was to take the most trivial of all these questions—How do people decide who to vote for?—and study the hell out of it. Why concentrate on that? Because once one has decided to quantify, one can study only that which is quantifiable.

From election to election, ever more powerful statistical techniques were brought to bear by the Michiganders, awesome and complex models developed and refined to recreate the voter's psyche. This produced the remarkable insight that voters make up their minds through some blend of their party affiliation, their opinions on the issues, and their appraisals of the candidates—the nature of the blend is still hotly contested.

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Michigan and other behavioral researchers, with both the dullness of their questions and the poverty of their answers. Herbert Kaufman, a political scientist at the Brookings Institution who *is* listened to by many people outside academe, concedes that "what I know directly from modern political science you could write on the back of a matchbook cover. And what's worse is that we've got a Gresham's Law of our own: for the sake of keeping up with all this current stuff that has little or nothing to say, our students stop reading the ancient political philosophers, who had plenty to say."

We'll Go Knocking on Theirs

The latest fad to sweep political science is equally unpromising. Variously called "policy studies," "policy analysis," and "policy science," and a host of other names, it rests on the premise that if business and government will not beat a path to our door, we will just have to go knocking on theirs with an offer to, uh, analyze their policies for them. (It's about that vague. Kaufman describes policy analysis as "plain old public administration with a couple of economics courses thrown in.") Thus the cover of the new *Policy Studies Journal* shows two little boxes, one each for "Academic Political Science" and "Government Practitioners." Thick arrows go back and forth from one box to the other—"we need them," the drawing suggests, "but they need us just as much," a notion that will undoubtedly come as news to "government practitioners." Apparently it is not enough to look silly; now, like camp followers whose idols keep forgetting their names, we are to be pathetic as well.

There are, of course, exceptions—political scientists who have managed to reach out to a larger audience. Jimmy Carter said James David Barber's *The Presidential Character* was the best book on the presidency he had read; Doris Kearns wrote a best-selling psychohistory of Lyndon Johnson; James MacGregor Burns writes widely read biographies and essays, as did the late Clinton Rossiter. These are exceptions, however, that prove the rule: Barber and Kearns rooted their research not in the methods of political science but in the substance of psychology; Burns and Rossiter based theirs in history.

There is also an entire wing of the political science profession that is listened to: Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski are ample proof of the influence of international relations scholars. But they too are exceptions that affirm the rule, for their historical, non-quantitative research methods leave them in a quite different field from their behavioral brethren. When I asked Evron Kirkpatrick, executive director of APSA, whether anyone listens to political scientists, he thought about it for a couple of days, then triumphantly showed me a half-dozen dusty old reports that his colleagues had had some hand in writing. He never thought to mention Kissinger or Brzezinski.

Rushing to Imitate

So here we are after almost a century of trying to keep up with the Joneses, as ignored and unvalued as ever. In light of political science's history, the problem seems clear enough: over the years we have spent most of our energy rushing to imitate our sister social sciences' methods of finding answers, conveniently fooling ourselves into forgetting that they have something we lack—a rich legacy of provocative questions, born of long years of purposeful thinking. As a result, says George F. Will, the political scientist-turned-journalist, "other social sciences deal with matters of substance. When they look at a question, it's more likely to be a question whose answer a layman might want to hear. When political scientists look at questions, I'm struck by the synthetic nature of their concerns. They shape the questions to fit their models and

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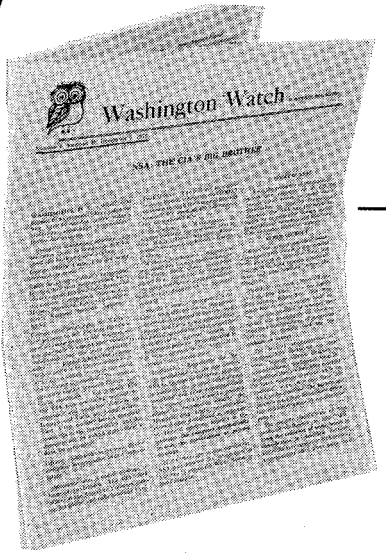

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methods, not the other way around, and they get answers that either no one is interested in or that are perfectly obvious."

Will, who took his doctorate at Princeton and then taught for a while, went on to suggest that "we should take all the political philosophers and send them off to the philosophy departments, send the political sociologists to sociology, the political historians to history, and so on. Then turn the abandoned political science offices into squash courts."

Fortunately, things have not gotten that bad; in fact, we still have our best option left. It is not, however, an easy option, for it requires us to go back several decades to the prebehavioral days, bury our mistakes, and take the fork in the road we bypassed then.

That fork, of course, leads to a political science dedicated to education for democratic citizenship, to "better minds for better government" in Thomas Reed's phrase. People on all rungs of the social ladder are more intimately affected by government today than ever before; in my research, I have found that they sense, and resent, the weight of bureaucratic regulation bearing down heavily on them in their personal lives. They still believe in the basic goodness of the system, but feel powerless to make unelected bureaucrats and distant legislators respond to their needs instead of the other way around. The pollyanna-like civics training most people got in school, which probably did not even mention bureaucracy, political parties, pressure groups, mass media, and other components of real-world politics, left them no better informed.

Political science's contribution to the American people could be to help them remedy this frustration, to teach them how their system really works and how they can make it work for them. Clearly our first task, though, is to find out these things for ourselves. This means changing not just our purpose, but our methods of discovery.

We ought to begin by recognizing that wisdom is the result of equal parts of philosophy and experience, of thinking and doing. It is no coincidence that our last-generation of great political thinkers—the framers of the Constitution—was also intensely involved in politics. In fact, *The Federalist Papers,* thought by many to be America's one enduring contribution to political theory, was first published as a series of campaign tracts by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay.

Personal experience in politics will quickly disabuse political scientists of the notion that the most important factors in making the system work can be fitted into equations. They will learn from being in or around government, as much by feel as by analysis, the subtle interaction of personalities, values, pressures, and uncertainties that are involved in the way things really work. Of course, the great danger of getting inside the system is that one can get co-opted or, more innocently, simply lose sight of the forest for the trees. That is why the study of philosophy, history, and literature remains vital both to keep us mindful of our duty to the people and to enable us to place the insights of experience into a perspective broad enough to yield understanding.

This curriculum of thought and action will surely improve our work in the classroom. But it will mean that we can also work outside of the classroom, helping people fend for themselves against their grossly overgrown government.

In short, we can hang out shingles. There is a market for political scientists, a set of ears willing to listen. For some reason we have chosen to ignore the people up until now—in fact, to write and speak in a language they could not understand. But now, by lowering our sights, we can elevate our purpose. And, who knows, maybe we will earn the pleasure of seeing the next generation of economists, sociologists, psychologists, and anthropologists jump on our bandwagon. ■

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The View From A Small Town

by Nicholas Lemann

Early on in the new Washington novel by Ben Wattenberg, who became famous as a man attuned to the hearts and minds of average Midwestern Americans, a White House speechwriter has lunch at Sans Souci with a savvy *New York Times* reporter, the kind of character who's obviously there to say what's on the author's mind. The reporter is just back from several weeks of traveling around the nation to sample the simple folks' attitudes, and the speechwriter straightaway asks her, "How are things in the country?" Which elicits the following response:

" 'Strange.' Her brow furrowed. 'I'm always amazed at how different the rest of the country is from Washington. In this town, you'd think politics was at the heart of the universe. Out there'—she waved her hand—'people manage to hold jobs, have babies, and wash their cars without thinking about Congress or the President or Washington for days—hell, years—on end.' "

It is doubtless true that the daily concerns of the people out there are not those of Joseph Kraft and James Reston, but it's hard for anyone to live in complete blissful ignorance of the federal government. The long arm of Washington touches almost everybody in one way or another.

At President Carter's town meetings, people were too busy asking about federal programs that touched their own lives to worry about the burning issues of the big-think set. In Washington state, farmers are furious at the government for having encouraged them to plow under their crops in anticipation of a drought that never arrived. In Louisiana, towns live and die according to two-cent fluctuations in federal sugar supports and import taxes. In Indiana, a town is closing down because of federal water-treatment requirements it can't meet. In California, the cancellation of the B-1 bomber threw thousands out of work.

And in La Plata, Maryland, population 1,800, the town manager says the federal government "is involved in every facet of life that we have." La Plata is the county seat of Charles

Nicholas Lemann is an editor of The Washington Monthly.

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County, Maryland, population 50,000, which sits astride the Potomac south of Washington and west of the Chesapeake Bay. Charles County is an old farming area, and La Plata is the kind of town that serves most agricultural regions. Everybody knows everybody. A couple of old families (the Diggeses and the Bowlings) run most major enterprises. There is a main street, a high school, and a few stores and offices, all of which make up a commercial district about five blocks long. For half a mile on either side of the main street there are single-family houses and a few apartment buildings, which give way to miles of farms—tobacco (the county's original economic base) and corn and soybeans.

La Plata is the kind of place that's usually written about these days in sepia-tinted prose that is meant to indicate a quaint, remote, placid, and dying way of life; it's well known, after all, that America is now 75-percent urban. But that's a misleading statistic; a full 40 per cent of the population still lives outside cities of more than 50,000 and their suburbs. To people in Washington there's a certain mystery enveloping these areas. They are known to vote against Washington—they formed the solid backbone of the Nixon-Ford constituency—but that's usually chalked up to a general pastoral conservatism. The possibility that it might be the government's fault is left unexamined.

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The first striking aspect of the federal presence in a small, mind-its-own-business county like Charles is how large it is. These may be proud and independent people, but in the last fiscal year the government spent $97.2 million in Charles County, which works out to about $2,000 a person. In addition, it lent out $26.3 million. All this is considerably more than the county pays the government: nationwide, federal taxes in 1976 were $1,328 per capita, and in Charles County, which is fairly low-income, they were probably less.

The government's largesse to Charles County has come gradually over the last 50 years; there have been three major waves of federal domestic spending in this century, and a county like Charles is in a position to have profited from all three.

The first wave was the New Deal, under which Social Security ($10 million a year in Charles County) and various relief programs began. The New Deal's social programs were aimed first and foremost at building a firm economic floor under agricultural America, which they did quite effectively. The Department of Agriculture is today the most visible federal presence in Charles County, with a brand-new office building in La Plata, and it guarantees decent housing and a farm to every citizen who makes less than $15,600 a year. The chief agency of this generosity is the Farmers Home Administration (called, for some reason, the FmHA, which, its genial county director, Thomas Potter, says, can "do just about anything in a rural area as far as financing."

As long as they've first been turned down by a bank, anyone under the income ceiling, even single people, can get from the FmHA a loan to buy or rent a house or farm, at low interest and long terms, that can cost as much as $45,000 (which still does buy something in Charles County). Loans are also available to cover farm operating costs, start businesses in town, and build community facilities like sewage and water treatment plants, roads, and drainage systems. Through its price-support system, the Agriculture Department also guarantees the county's corn and soybean farmers that they'll never have a bad year. Should drought or heavy rain destroy the crops altogether, the government will step in with disaster relief—in fact, there are two programs, the FmHA's and the Small Business Administration's, that provide identical disaster loans to the same people, the only restriction being that nobody

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can be on both agencies' caseloads simultaneously. In 1976, the SBA lent farmers in Charles County $28,000 in disaster loans after heavy spring rains, the FmHA (which seems to be winning the bureaucratic battle on this front) $187,000. The FmHA also lent out $300,000 to cover farm operating costs; $64,000 to buy farms; and, to farmers and townspeople, $2.5 million to buy houses.

The second and third waves of government spending—military, starting with World War II and continuing apace in the years thereafter, and social-services, taking off during Lyndon Johnson's presidency—have bestowed their gifts on Charles County too. The Defense Department spends $50 million a year there, most of it in pay for the 2,500 employees of a Naval Ordnance Station in the town of Indian Head, and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare chips in nearly $25 million, the biggest single chunk of which goes to Medicare ($2 million) and Medicaid ($6 million). Another $2 million in social-services programs—mainly food stamps and school lunches—comes through the Agriculture Department. Rural areas get more than their share from the federal government because it's hard to build military installations in cities; and social-services grants, usually thought of as aimed at big cities, do a lot for the low-income country as well.

Otherwise, federal spending in Charles County is a miscellany—$6 million in insurance for low-income homeowners from the Department of Housing and Urban Development, $329,000 in unemployment compensation, $824,000 in highway construction grants. Two-and-a-half million dollars comes in from the Veterans Administration for pensions and training; $1.2 million from the Treasury in revenue sharing; $6.1 million from the Civil Service Commission in pensions on federal salaries. All eleven Cabinet-level departments and ten independent agencies put some money into Charles County.

Overall, the federal government's spending in Charles County breaks out like this: $35 million in salaries, mostly to Defense employees (who average about $16,000 a year); $20 million in pensions; and $25 million in loans, most of which help low- and moderate-income people buy houses. In other words, the government primarily helps its own (which in turn helps the local economy, but also leads to resentment and inflation), the retired, and the housing industry. By comparison, only $6 million a year is for the kind of payments to poor people that could conceivably be called the dole—Medicaid, food stamps, welfare, and the like.

The Short End of the Stick

For all this government generosity, Charles County does not send its gratitude back toward Washington. In fact, both by their votes (conservative Republican) and in conversation, the county's residents make it clear that they think they're coming out on the short end of the federal stick. Most don't realize that the government spends more on the county than the county gives it, but even if they did, it's a fair bet that they'd insist the relationship isn't worth it. The people of La Plata are glad to enumerate their theories about the federal government: that it pays people to sit around and do nothing, and that the money it puts into the county is less than what the county has contributed because bureaucrats skim a large percentage off the top for themselves before giving it back. They resent the high salaries paid the county's federal employees. The government "is to Charles County what Con Ed is to New York," says Daniel Kennedy, editor of the *La Plata Times-Crescent*. "Everybody blames them even when they're right."

All these are general complaints, often arising out of no more specific a burden than paying taxes; but they certainly show that the government

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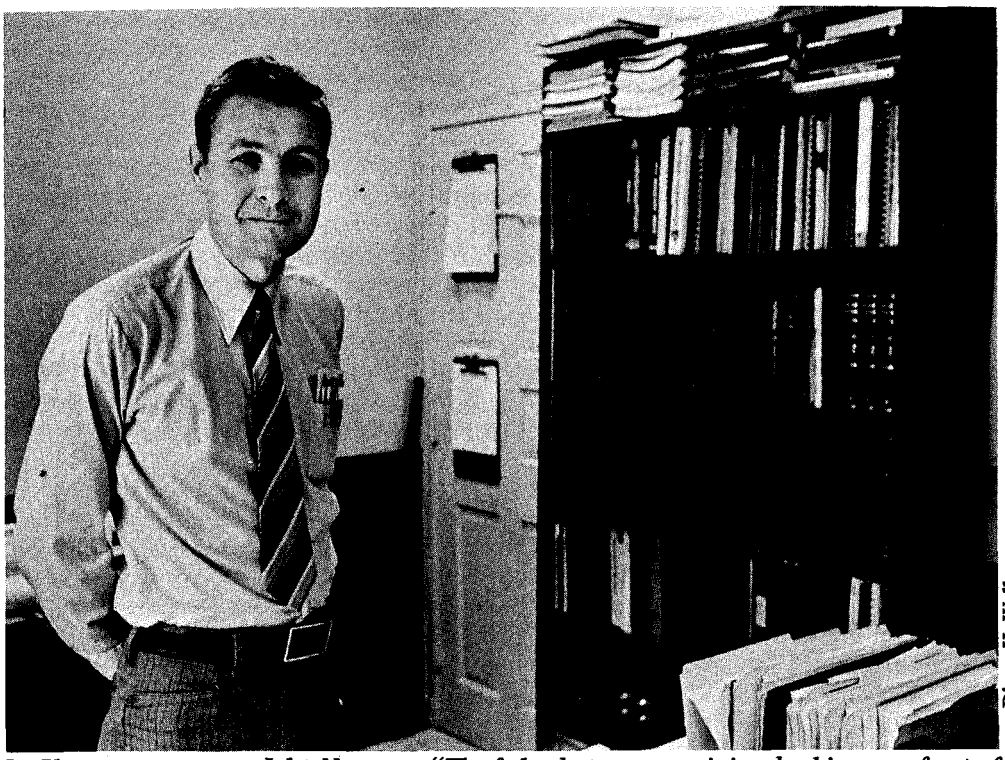

Diana H. Walker

La Plata town manager John Newman: "The federal government is involved in every facet of life that we have."

has a public-relations problem even if they don't explain why. More particularly, people in La Plata, especially businessmen, complain that they are overburdened with federal regulations that were designed for giant corporations, crush the small ones, and make it impossible to earn a profit. That kind of griping goes on all over the country (the giant corporations that the rules were designed for complain the loudest) and probably always has. Recently the small-town businessman has even obtained a spokesman, in the person of Billy Carter, whose complaints about OSHA inspectors, hiring regulations, the minimum wage, unemployment compensation, and, generally, federal "paperwork" are echoed by businessmen in La Plata.

There's no doubt that the state of bureaucratic affairs small businessmen allude to can come about; in France, reports Alain Peyrefitte in his book *Le Mal Francais*, the federal government closed down a small town's only store, a cafe-grocery-general store, because it is illegal to serve liquor less than 200 meters from a school and the store was ten meters too close. But while that kind of horror story is worth keeping in mind for its cautionary value, in America the government's oppression of the small businessman seems to be exaggerated. Its truth is mostly symbolic; to an entrepreneur who is accustomed to answering to nobody at all, even the slightest intrusion takes on an importance that those of us who are accustomed to drawing a paycheck would find hard to understand. And small-town life is a mixture of two strains, the independence glorified in *Our Town* and the xenophobia condemned in *Babbitt* and *Main Street*; sometimes the two work in opposition, but whenever government regulation is involved, they gang up and damn it.

A case in point is James Hancock, a weather-beaten, articulate man who runs La Plata's shoe repair shop out of a tiny, cinder-block building on the

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main street. Hancock started his shop in 1949 and, he says, has made less money every year since then—mainly because the government has swamped him in regulations and paperwork. He says he'd expand his business except that, with all the regulations involved, it just isn't worth it.

But asked to produce some of the paperwork that plagues him, Hancock can only shrug his shoulders—all he does at the government's behest is keep books, "just like I was Ford Motor," for income-tax purposes, something he wouldn't otherwise do. The rest of the paperwork is more in the realm of threat than reality. It is worth noting, though, that for a really small businessman—not Billy Carter, but Hancock—the minimum wage is a genuine hindrance. He and his assistant are both below the poverty level, and the assistant has to be hired as a subcontractor rather than an employee because he can't be paid the minimum wage.

A Little More Complicated

Hancock's perceptions are shared by most people around La Plata. A defender of the government would say life has to be a little more complicated in order to bring about a better society—for instance, aren't OSHA inspectors worth it if they'll stop industrial accidents? But in Charles County there's no perception of a reason behind the complication, and it's seen as better just to avoid it, to keep life simple. A local lawyer told me he gave up his real-estate practice rather than comply with the "paperwork and nuisance" of the truth-in-lending act, and reported with great umbrage that the government "sent a man around with a tape measure to measure my damn farm." The manager of the La Plata Chamber of Commerce says solemnly that there are "government agencies created just for the purpose of making more rules." Being brought into a complex society of guarantees and strictures and subsidies designed to bring the greatest good to the greatest number is not what the people of Charles County have in mind.

The question this raises is, are perceptions of overwhelming paperwork and government interference a valid cause for concern if in fact they're only perceptions? (In those specific cases when they're real, as Marjorie Boyd's article in this issue shows, they're well worth worrying about.) Surely government officials shouldn't spend their time trying to keep imaginary dragons away from small businessmen. More broadly, is Charles County, despite its sentiments to the contrary, really getting a good deal from the federal government when everything is taken into account?

Despite all the money that flows in, the answer is not a sanguine one for the government. What it takes out, it takes with impressive efficiency from one and all, but what it puts back, other than salaries and pensions, it does in a way that leaves much to be desired. The money that is spent to help the people in the county who need help, while generous in theory, is often bungled in practice. The fact is that when the government is bestowing its direct gifts on the citizenry, there really *are* a lot of rules to follow and forms to fill out—enough of them to make people shy away from the gifts, acting against their economic interest. In cases like that, the sincerity of sentiments against the government can't be doubted, and something must be wrong.

The two major giveaway organizations in the county—the FmHA and the county department of social services (which is largely federally funded) both have caseloads that are far smaller than they should be. At the social services agency, a supervisor named Sarah Mitchell says, the forms that must be filled out to get on welfare and other public assistance programs, designed in Washington, are "quite detailed—people have difficulty filling them out, and they're bothered by the requirement of a personal interview with a caseworker." Welfare

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recipients have to submit proof of income, and forms having to do with their housing and children. "Any time you have outside forces dealing with your life in that way," she says, "you'll resent it."

At the FmHA the caseload is only 650, just one of which is a loan to a local business. In 1976, Thomas Potter handed out 700 loan applications, but only 112 came back for processing, and at least part of the reason is that the applications must have held the promise of some future pain. For a housing loan to go through, for instance, the house must conform with a detailed code that specifies the kind of beams that must be used and requires a smoke detector in every room. The Agriculture Department's farm storage loan program, which provides funding for the storage of crops, has had no applications so far—"a lot of people don't understand it and don't want to be bothered with the government," the program's director says. HUD's block grants program is far under-utilized because, the people who run it in the county say, there is so much paperwork involved—every application has to have at least 12 forms, six statistical reports, and three copies of lease agreements, just for a grant for one house.

The Good the Government Can Do

The largest-scale case of a government program not helping people as it should in Charles County is the new sewage treatment plant in La Plata. A sewage plant project in a rural area—improving the environment, providing jobs, a big capital investment—is the kind of project liberals are accustomed to pointing to proudly as an exemplar of the good the federal government can do, and indeed there is a whole range of programs through which a town like La Plata can fund such a plant. But the plant, now under construction, is being financed locally—not out of ignorance of the government programs available or blind mistrust of outsiders, but because local financing is faster and almost as cheap for the town as federal funding.

The story of the sewage treatment plant begins in 1970, when the town of La Plata hired an intense young man from Utah, John Newman, for the one full-time administrative job in its government, town manager. At that time La Plata was short of drinking water, so Newman set out to get a new water treatment plant built—with federal money. The plant was originally estimated to cost $380,000, of which the Department of Housing and Urban Development would fund 90 per cent, leaving the town with a cost of only $38,000. Five years later, the plant was built, at a cost of $1,150,000, of which the town paid $347,500.

The huge increase in cost was due in large part to inflation, although government building requirements also played a large part. Of course, the requirements and the inflation are intimately connected; every requirement means paperwork, every piece of paperwork means delays, and every delay, in inflationary times, means the cost of a project goes up. Newman has the paperwork for the plant in a cardboard box in his office; the box is four feet long and is filled with the most detailed sort of requirements, preapplications, applications, impact assessments, engineering reports, promises of nondiscrimination. Newman says for four years he "practically lived" in the HUD regional office in Baltimore.

So in 1973, when La Plata started having sewer problems, Newman was already not kindly disposed toward the federal government. But since the town was low on money, and the plant would cost more than half a million dollars, he decided to give it another try.

First Newman took his project to the Environmental Protection Agency, which had a program that would pay directly for 75 per cent of the cost of the plant and arrange for the state to contribute another 12½ per cent. EPA

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Diana H. Walker

James Hancock: "You don't take anything free without controls."

decided that perhaps a sewage plant for all of southern Charles County, rather than just La Plata, might be a good idea, so it had the County Sanitary Commission look into it. The commission contracted for a $106,000 study, which turned out to take three years to complete and to conclude that a county-wide plant *wasn't* needed. In the middle of this, with annual inflation well over ten per cent, Newman decided he couldn't wait any longer and pulled out.

He next looked into getting an HUD community facility grant, although with extreme trepidation, because from his experience with the HUD-funded water plant he knew all his plans, bids, and pay vouchers would have to be federally approved at great additional time and cost. But in the midst of the application process HUD replaced its community facility grants with block grants, which were billed as a streamlining of the bureaucracy. To get a block grant, a small community had to have a certain level of unemployment, which La Plata, though above the national average, then did not meet (it now does). Newman had to go elsewhere.

Having given up on the idea of a grant, he went to the FmHA for a loan—the terms were good (40 years at five-percent interest) and he imagined that a loan would be simpler in the processing than a grant. In April 1976 he approached Tom Potter about applying.

Here came a rude awakening for Newman, for he found that the instructions for filling out the loan application ran to 50 single-spaced pages. Among other forms, he had to fill out a pre-application, a full application, a balance sheet, an engineering contract, an operating budget, contracts for professional services, evidence of compliance with various rules, preliminary reports, and a project summary—quite a load on a one-man government. All plans had to be reviewed by FmHA architects and engineers. Every step of the process took time. For example: Newman had to send all his plans for approval to a

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state clearinghouse, which in turn sent them to five separate state agencies for *their* approval. Everybody approved in the end, but the process took months.

Finally, in April 1977, the FmHA sent the town a request for form FmHA 442-46, Letter of Intent to Meet Conditions; this was a final step to make sure the town understood it had to submit to the FmHA details like all construction contracts, an accountant agreement, monthly progress reports for each contractor, and non-discrimination reports. (Bear in mind, this is a program only for towns of less than 5,500 people, a group in which La Plata is a rarity for having any full-time administrative staff. In most places, all these forms would have to be filled out after hours by someone with a full-time job.) A month later, the grant was approved.

'For *Our* Approval'

In the meantime, however, as Newman grew impatient, he had been talking to a local financial firm about floating a bond issue. He found the terms wouldn't be quite as good—20 years at 5.85 per cent—but that the bonds could be out on the market by July 1. He submitted a short report on the financial condition of the town, which the firm used to write a bond issue report. That was the only information La Plata had to submit. When the bond issue papers were ready, Newman says, "*They* brought it down for *our* approval"—and he decided to forget about the FmHA. On June 3, he wrote Tom Potter that he was going on the open market. "I'm appalled," Newman wrote, "at the amount of paperwork that is required by the United States Government through the FmHA for a loan . . . levels and levels of bureaucrats seem to feed on themselves as make-work projects to justify their own existence."

Potter says now that the processing of the La Plata loan application was among the fastest he's seen. As for the plant, construction is now well along and should be finished by the first of the year.

The forms and regulations in which the government enshrouds its gifts are not without some logic, of course: the theory is that if Washington is going to pay for something, it is its duty to make sure the project conforms to various noble social goals. Would it be right, the planners think, to fund a building on which there's discrimination by the contractor, or faulty construction, or an incompetent architect, or unsafe working conditions? But what this attitude does is effectively take federal programs out of the reach of small-scale America—there are few small towns whose governments can keep up with all the paperwork for every federal program they're eligible for. By not being able just to grit its teeth and give away money, Washington is short-changing small-town America on a major category of its benefits.

A good example of the problem is the impoverished shoemaker, James Hancock, who complains that the government is biased against a small businessman like him. To be sure, Hancock suffers a little under the burden of taxes and the minimum wage law—but that ought to be countervailed by a helping hand from the government when he can't make ends meet. Poor as he is, he's eligible for a number of federal loans and perhaps even subsidies to finance the expansion and operation of his business—and personally, he could get food stamps and housing subsidies. The government should buoy him up far more than it grinds him down.

But Hancock participates in none of these programs designed to help people like him. "I haven't looked into it," he says. "I think it's wrong. If the government robs you so you have to go beg 'em for something to eat, that's wrong. You don't take anything free without controls." Maybe that's an emotional view, but the evidence in Charles County shows that there's a lot of truth to it. ■

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The Protection Consumers Don't Want

by Marjorie Boyd

Congress' reluctance to pass legislation creating a Consumer Protection Agency has been widely denounced. President Carter led the bill's supporters in blaming the delays on the lobbying of powerful special interests, and some editorialists have followed suit. But that is a distorted view; this is not just another case of members of Congress dancing to any tune played by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. Many congressmen who previously supported the idea of a Consumer Protection Agency were surprised earlier this year to find opposition to the bill growing among their constituents—congressmen are increasingly hearing from the advisers and friends who serve as political barometers in their districts that people are not so keen on consumer legislation as they once were. The bill suffered a severe blow when a recent convention of the Federated American Women's Clubs passed a resolution opposing the consumer agency. What has happened to make consumers leery of the government's protection? Is it a general unease growing out of an anti-Washington mood? Or is it something more specific?

It was in the mid-1960s that Congress discovered the consumer. Polls showed that Ralph Nader was held in the highest public esteem, and his various organizations, staffed with bright young men and women, were producing a multitude of proposals to help consumers. Congress, in its excitement at finding a sizable constituency that posed no political risks, quickly passed Nader-inspired laws with names like the Fair Labeling and Packaging Act, the Truth in Lending Act, the Flammable Fabrics Act, the Poison Prevention Packaging Act, the Refrigerator Safety Act, the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act, the Federal Caustic Poison Act, and the Hazardous Substances Act. The Consumer Product Safety Commission was set up and given broad powers to ban unsafe products from the market. Also, other laws designed by the

Marjorie Boyd is a Virginia writer.

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Nader groups to protect workers were passed—for instance, the Occupational Safety and Health Act and the Employee Retirement Income Security Act, which reformed private pension plans. Each of these laws, while meeting real needs, pushed government a step closer to the day-to-day lives of businessmen and consumers.

As a result of the congressional interest in the consumer, there are now 33 federal agencies and approximately 400 bureaus and sub-agencies operating more than 1,000 consumer-oriented programs. If there is indeed a declining public confidence in the government's ability to protect the consumer, it stands to reason that it is in some way connected with the operation of these programs. An examination of how the the consumer laws really work shows why the government's bear-hug of protection, which was at first so warmly received by all consumers, now seems stifling.

Something Has Gone Awry

One of the first consumer laws passed was the Truth in Lending Act of 1968. It was heralded as a great breakthrough. Creditors would be required to disclose the true cost of credit, and, congressional sponsors and consumer advocates pointed out, once the true cost of credit was known, consumers would choose to buy from businesses offering the lowest interest rates, thus helping to fight inflation.

Now, eight years later, it is clear that something has gone awry—so far awry that the Senate Banking Committee has called the law in for an overhaul. The original idea for a Truth in Lending Act was simply to require a creditor to disclose the true annual rate of interest he was charging. But as the bill went through Congress other disclosure requirements were added, and when the Act got to the Federal Reserve Board, the bureaucrats there, charged with writing regulations for the new law, quickly added many more requirements, some so complicated as to be unintelligible.

Now banks and businesses seeking to meet the law's requirements send out lengthy and confusing statements to consumers, who are more puzzled than ever about exactly how much interest they are paying.

Some of the Nader-inspired laws have created problems because they were designed with big corporations in mind and had unanticipated effects on medium-sized and small businesses. For instance, the Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA), which reformed private pension plans, is perhaps the most complicated piece of regulatory legislation ever devised —the annual reports required by the law arrive at the Labor Department in packing crates.

The major impetus behind the reform of private pensions was Studebaker's bankruptcy, which left 8,500 workers without pensions. There were no representatives of small or medium-sized businesses present at hearings on the legislation, and when the law went into effect a huge outcry arose from these businessmen, who complained they could neither understand nor comply with ERISA. Senator Gaylord Nelson's Small Business Committee held hearings for which planeloads of angry businessmen descended on Washington, all testifying that complying with the law would cost them enormous legal and clerical fees, in a few cases higher than their companies' annual contributions to their pension plans. Several senators threatened to try to repeal the law, or at least to exempt small businesses from it. As this was going on, it was learned that since the bill's passage, four times as many companies as usual had terminated their pension plans because they could not afford the legal fees and clerical personnel necessary to assure compliance. The Labor Department finally responded with shorter, simplified forms for small businesses, and private consulting firms sprang up to help the smaller companies bring their pension plans into conformance at prices lower than lawyers would charge.

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Confrontation was avoided. But by this time, two years after the Act's passage, more than 10,000 companies had dropped their pension plans and 320,000 workers had lost their pensions.

So while the costs of complying with the consumer laws are a nuisance to General Motors and Nabisco, they are a real burden for small businesses —and their employees. Of course, businesses eventually pass legal and clerical costs on to consumers through higher prices. But this takes time, during which legal bills must be paid and payrolls met. For the businessman with a narrow margin of profit, the cumulative expenses of complying with several different government regulatory programs can change ink from black to red.

And we forget that America is still a land of small and medium-sized businesses. According to the Small Business Administration, 55 per cent of all jobs in the private sector are in small businesses. These businesses produce 48 per cent of our output of goods and services and account for almost 43 per cent of the GNP. There are actually more businessmen working for small businesses than for large corporations.

Arthritic Fingers

Other consumer laws have had unfortunate side effects that have annoyed or angered various groups of the consumers they were supposed to help.

The Poison Prevention Packaging Act, passed in 1970, required, among other things, that aspirin bottles have caps that could not be opened by a child under five years old. The law provided that aspirin could be sold for use by the old and handicapped in bottles without safety caps, as long as it was labeled "This package for households without young children." But retailers cannot always keep on hand a supply of the aspirin without safety caps, so many senior citizens have been forced to try to manipulate the "child-guard" caps with arthritic

The Wall of Respect on Chicago's South Side, the brilliantly painted mural symbolizing black pride, fronted one of the city's worst areas of heroin dealing and shooting up. Here, in 1968, Dr. Hughes and his team of colleagues launched a unique community-based program of drug control. Treating heroin addiction as if it were a communicable disease and working with ex-addicts and with militant community leaders, the team was able to convert at least one "epidemic" area into a relatively heroin-free neighborhood. This account of the project describes "an adventure linking science, hope, and humanism that is relevant across the span of contemporary organized health activities and 'systems.'"—Daniel X. Freedman
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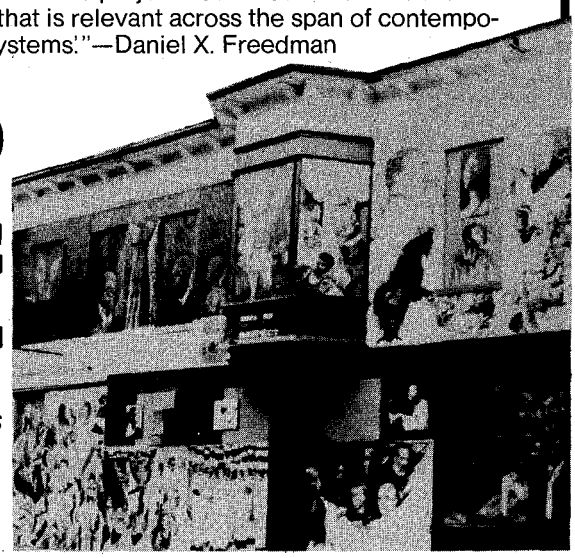
BEHIND THE WALL OF RESPECT

Community Experiments in Heroin Addiction Control

Patrick H. Hughes, M.D.

University of Chicago Press



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fingers as they struggle to get their dosage of aspirin every four hours.

The banning of hazardous substances is provoking increasing skepticism among consumers. Of course, no one has questioned the advisability of banning extremely toxic chemicals, but there are a large number of substances that fall somewhere between safe and unsafe because acceptable levels of exposure cannot be precisely determined. Public reaction to the saccharin ban has been fully explored in the press, and there are other less well-known cases that illustrate the various facets of this problem.

In October 1973, the Consumer Product Safety Commission banned certain brands of spray adhesives because of a researcher's work that concluded that the sprays, when used by pregnant women, would cause birth defects in their unborn children. Seven months later, the Commission lifted the ban. Doctors across the country were horrified, because on the basis of the ban they had advised pregnant women who had used the spray adhesives to undergo abortions.

Consumer advocates themselves are sometimes sharply divided over a particular product's safety. Some groups have been working to have smoke detectors made mandatory, and several local ordinances requiring them have been passed. At the same time, other consumer advocates, including Ralph Nader, are working to have smoke detectors banned because they believe they emit cancer-causing radiation.

One consumer-protection law that totally backfired involved childrens' sleepwear. In 1972 the Consumer Product Safety Commission, in the course of carrying out the Flammable Fabrics Act, required that all children's sleepwear under size 6-X be treated with a flame-retardant chemical (sizes 7 through 14 were added in 1975). Millions of parents, already hard-pressed to keep their growing children in pajamas and nightgowns, watched prices jump by 20 per cent overnight. Some manufacturers attached labels explaining that the flame-retardant chemicals and the processes necessary to apply them were responsible for the price hike, and stores posted signs to the same effect. Then, this spring, when the Consumer Product Safety Commission banned the chemical Tris, which had been used to treat over 40 per cent of children's sleepwear, parents were understandably shocked to learn that they had been paying a higher price in order to expose their children to a cancer-causing agent.

The Flammable Fabrics Act has left an incredible imbroglio in its wake. Incensed fabric makers and sleepwear manufacturers have gone to court to try to get the government to make up their losses. Spring Mills, one of the country's largest fabric companies, announced it was ceasing production of fabrics for children's sleepwear because of "unpredictable governmental policies," a development expected to drive up further the prices of children's pajamas and nightgowns, at least temporarily. To bring the fiasco full circle, a federal judge enjoined the Consumer Product Safety Commission from enforcing its ban on Tris because it didn't follow its own regulations in issuing the ban. And a group of scientists is warning that the other chemicals used to make fabrics flame retardant are almost as dangerous as Tris.

Sometimes the Consumer Products Safety Commission seems to be *trying* to make consumerism look bad. For instance, it recently announced plans to require all manufacturers of power lawnmowers to equip each of their

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machines with a safety device that will automatically shut off the motor every time the mower stops. This means that when you pause to move a tool or toys out of the way or even to answer a question from a passing neighbor, you have to tug at the inevitably balky cord starter. And manufacturers say the device will add an average of $60 to the price of a new lawnmower. Granted, Americans suffered 160,000 cut fingers and toes and other injuries while mowing lawns last year, but the Commission admits that the device "might have prevented only about half of those." No figures are available to show how many of these accidents were caused by carelessness. Some sense of perspective should be brought to bear on this problem, since there are over 40 million power mowers in this country, most of which are used about once a week in the summer months.

The Issue of Interfering

It's clear that a large part of the problem is that consumers define their problems differently from the consumer advocates. For instance, consumers tend instinctively to resent intrusions even if they're for their own good—seatbelts that had to be buckled in order for cars to start were extremely unpopular. Consumer advocates are blithely unconcerned with the issue of interfering in people's lives, and don't mind the government acting *in loco parentis*. Also, Ralph Nader and other consumer advocates who played major roles in designing consumer legislation have always focused primarily on safety. But many people simply do not see safety as the most important consumer problem. To them, consumer problems are the new electric frying pan that fails to work after only two uses; or the unbelievably high price of coffee; or the television set that always seems to be in the repair shop; or the house paint that peels after three months. Laws that restrict their personal freedom for what the government has determined to be their own good are not what they had in mind.

Besides the annoyances they cause, it is possible that the consumer laws are producing detrimental effects that are not so readily apparent. *The Wall Street Journal, Business Week*, and other business organs have long warned editorially that the laws are actually hurting consumers instead of helping them because the expense of meeting their myriad regulations is added on to the prices consumers pay. But the cost of the government regulatory process is a subject that most consumer advocates, government officials, and liberals would prefer to avoid. When I asked an expert on inflation at the Brookings Institution if he had done any studies on the cost of the consumer laws or their effect on inflation, I was told curtly, "We don't do that sort of thing."

One of the largest costs of government regulation in the consumer field, legal expenses, is rarely mentioned. One does not have to be a statistician or an economist to see how this works. The consumer laws are heavily weighted toward the use of the legal system. Government investigators search out violators of the various regulations and when they find one, the accused business can either pay the assigned penalty or challenge it in court. Businesses must also hire lawyers to represent them at government

Answers to the July-August puzzle:

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hearings on ever-changing rules and regulations and to interpret the flood of new rules that pour out of Washington. Wronged consumers are also encouraged to go into court—some of the laws provide for the payment of legal fees by either business or the government. The proposed Consumer Protection Agency would add a new dimension to this legal round robin because it would be permitted to sue all other government agencies.

From the standpoint of the legal enthusiast who is convinced there is no human problem the adversary system can't solve, these laws offer the wondrous opportunity for government, business, and consumer to have the full extent of each and every right and responsibility defined in court.

While a system that assures everyone's day in court makes uplifting reading in a legal textbook, litigation is an expensive and time-consuming process, usually viewed as a last resort. Who is paying for all these lawyers? When you ask consumer advocates this question, you hear such soothing phrases as "negligible expense" and "absorbed by business." But this fails to mollify anyone who has had recent experience with lawyers. "Negligible expense" is not a term associated with that profession's work, and since business is not a charitable activity, it does not "absorb" substantial new costs but passes them along to consumers.

Now it's true that most consumer legislation has a point and that some of it is eminently worthwhile. American businessmen too often confirm the most vulgar Marxist's view of free enterprise, so the public does need protection against fraud, against products that endanger health, or, as Nader put it, are "unsafe at any speed." The magazine *Mother Jones* has, for example, just revealed that Ford was knowlingly producing Pintos with gas tanks that, if the car were hit from the rear, had an excellent chance of incinerating the cars' occupants. Action was needed. But every action taken by government, whether it succeeds or fails in achieving its stated purpose, will inevitably produce unintended effects. The more lengthy and complicated the legislation—and consumer legislation is very lengthy and complicated—the more unintended effects there are.

And it is these unintended effects, which range from the laughable to the horrendous, that eat away at the confidence of citizens in their government. The cumulative effect of 320,000 workers telling how a program designed to protect pensions wiped theirs out; of thousands of businessmen complaining about what consumer laws cost them; of women recounting how a faulty government decision led them to have abortions; of the elderly talking about aspirin bottles and parents about Tris; and all the other word-of-mouth about the failings of consumer laws—it all adds up to a disillusionment that's quite widespread. The way to combat the disillusionment is to attack it at its source, by either accepting limited goals or devising laws that are not maddeningly complicated and whose effects have been well thought out in advance. This would be in sharp contrast to our present system of writing laws whose goals are understood fully only by their authors. And the system heaps confusion upon confusion as each law is loaded down with pages of regulations written by bureaucrats who speak a different language from the rest of us.

Senator William Proxmire, chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, which is currently studying the problems of the Truth in Lending Act, has announced his intention to try to strip down the law so that all a creditor is required to send out is a statement with the true credit charge on it—and nothing more. If he could get such a law through Congress and then find some way to protect it from the regulation-writers, it would be a noble experiment in government. Others like it could have a profound effect on the way our government works in the future. ■

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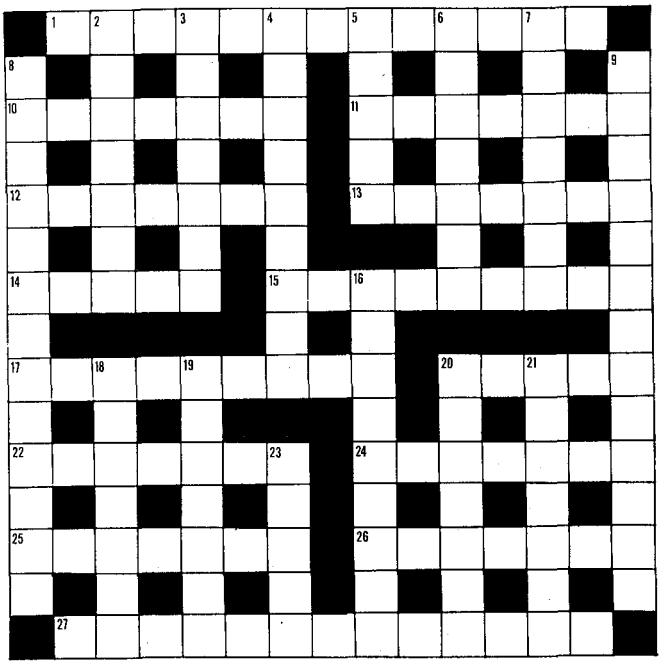
the political puzzle

by John Barclay



ACROSS

1. Washington visit headline: Mix-up: "People Hurt—1000 start." (8,5)
10. He shuns short highway in state. (7)
11. Throb again from set-back. (7)
12. Agnew and Ehrlichman, for example, in taut horserace. (7)
13. Raise around 51 for 1 across, for example. (7)
14. Predict back in the middle a drink. (5)
15. Most important aspect can be seen since. (2,7)
17. Historic city is a spot in the desert. (9)
20. He may star in Croat translation. (5)
22. Southern version of Yankee party may give Amy beak? (7)
24. Good medicine when famous lab enters in sin. (7)
25. Teeth from Rosie the Fourth. (7)
26. Alta tan displayed in braves' home. (7)
27. Mild heed state arrangement for trouble spot. (3,6,4)

DOWN

2. The ins delete 100 in upset. (7)
3. Repair cut for a long play part. (3,4)
4. Compose a his or him for 1945 target. (9)
5. Nice thanks may be crime. (5)
6. Create realms from mere sip. (7)
7. Sin well in poorly made clothes. (3-4)
8. Major address for Hafiz al Asad. (8-5)
9. An earned merit comes out West of 27 across. (13)
16. Where Dane still commits suicide. (4,2,3)
18. Very large matronly butterfly? (7)
19. Mailers stand for no nonsense. (7)
20. Pardon a college graduate with confused loves. (7)
21. Abilities are even found in last ten. (7)
23. Relaxed but displeased at the end. (5)

The numbers indicate the number of letters and words, e. g. (2,3) means a two-letter word followed by a three-letter word. Groups of letters, e. g. USA, are treated as one word. Answers to last month's puzzle are on page 33.

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Memo of the Month

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MAY 25 1977

May 24, 1977

To All White House and EOB Staff

From Carol Benefield, First Lady's Office

Responsibility for the Presidential boxes at Kennedy Center now rests with me. I will try to be accommodating and ask your cooperation when requesting seats in the boxes.

A special telephone line has been installed for Kennedy Center reservation requests. The number is: 2882. Other lines coming into my office are for Mrs. Carter, and will not, under any circumstances, be used for Kennedy Center business. The time between 9:00 A.M. and 10:30 A.M. will be set aside for KC reservations, and I ask that you restrict your calls to this period of time.

Seats in the Presidential boxes will be available on a priority basis, e.g., the First Family, the Vice Presidential family, Cabinet members, Congressmen and Senators, Senior White House staff, White House and Capitol Hill staffs. Bumping rights may be exercised up to 24 hours before the performance but no later. The First Family and the Vice Presidential family are the exceptions here, of course.

HOW THE SYSTEM WORKS

(1) Call for reservations on extension 2882 between 9:00 - 10:30 A.M.
(2) Give the specific date for which you are requesting seats.
(3) Give the number of seats requested.
(4) Give your name, office, telephone extension, and room number.
(5) Be prepared to give the names of all members who will be in your party.

We are going to try a new system which eliminates tickets altogether. You will be asked to give the names of all persons who will be in your party, preferably at the time your reservation is made, but no later than noon of the day of performance. At 2:00 P.M. on the day of the performance, I will furnish Kennedy Center officials with the names of those who will occupy the boxes that evening.

Upon arrival for the performance, you should tell the usher (ticket-taker) that you are a guest in the Presidential box and should present identification, preferably your driver's license. The usher will verify your name against the list of persons which I have given KC, and after verification, will admit you.

This procedure applies to you and each of your guests. I must stress two things to remember under the new system: 1) there can be no substitutions after 2:00 for individuals whose names I have given to Kennedy Center; and 2) all individuals should have identification to present to the usher.

This new system is designed to accomplish several objectives which are:

(1) To provide, as requested, the President and Mrs. Carter with an accurate list of individuals using the box.

(2) To eliminate mailing out and picking up tickets.

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(3) To eliminate loss of tickets.

(4) To eliminate having to retrieve tickets in the event tickets have been sent to an individual and subsequently that individual is bumped.

(5) To assure maximum use of the boxes.

(6) To pinpoint individuals in the event of damages or misconduct in the boxes.

In connection with objective 6, there have been instances of broken furniture; eating, drinking, and smoking in the boxes; food being brought into the anterooms; and general misconduct. I have met with Roger L. Stevens, Chairman of Kennedy Center, and with the managers of the Opera House, the Eisenhower Theatre, and Concert Hall and have asked them to notify me immediately of any damages or improprieties which occur in connection with the use of the boxes. They have assured me they will do so.

Keys to the refrigerators in the anterooms will still be available upon request. The individual having the key will be responsible for the refreshment bill which is sent from the White House Mess. It will be the keyholder's responsibility to settle up with others sharing the box. The key should be returned to me the morning following the performance with a note indicating who is returning the key.

Reservations will be made no more than one month in advance. If you want reservations further in advance, please submit a request in writing, making certain that the request is dated. At the appropriate time reservations will be made on 1) a priority basis, and 2) a first-come, first-served basis; and I will notify you whether or not you have reservations.

Everyone naturally looks to see who is occupying the Presidential boxes. When using the boxes, you must always remember that you are representing the President of the United States and should conduct yourself accordingly. In view of this, coupled with some incidents which have taken place, I feel something should be said about personal conduct and appropriate attire to be worn.

Smoking and refreshments are restricted to the anteroom before the performance and during intermission only...NEVER in the box.

Food is NEVER to be brought into the anterooms or the boxes.

Proper attire for men consits of a suit and tie. Sports coats and leisure suits should be avoided. Women should consider a dressy knee-length or floor-length dress. Pantsuits and see-thru, braless attire should be avoided.

You should arrive on time for the performance. It is distracting to others to have latecomers take their seats after the performance has begun.

Talking and whispering during the performance should be kept to a minimum and done very quietly and briefly.

If you are asked to make a request for a Congressman or Senator, or for a member of their staff, you should contact the White House Congressional Liaison Office -- Nancy Darr, ext. 7130, for Congressional requests, or Doris Brenner, ext. 7140, for Senatorial requests.

If you wish to know of coming events at Kennedy Center, please call the Center at 254-3600 and inquire.

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Who's Who in the Carter Administration

Who's Really Who at the Top: Powell and **Jordan** continue to be the most powerful members of the White House staff. Even though Jordan turned down a proposal—made by the OMB reorganizers—that he become chief of staff, his power is likely to grow. **Carter** is already running for reelection, and Jordan's mandate covers a review of all White House actions from the standpoint of the potential political consequences. **Costanza, Watson** and **Schneiders** continue to have little real power. **Stuart Eizenstat's** seems to be growing. **Vance** and **Brzezinski** are in modest eclipse, mostly because Carter is his own Secretary of State and National Security Advisor. **Brown** and **Califano** are the strongest of the Cabinet members. **Blumenthal**, who was expected to rank with them, disappointed the White House with his tax reform proposals. (The tax reform package is more the product of Eizenstat's staff than Blumenthal's.) At the bottom of the Cabinet in terms of White House regard is **Juanita Kreps** (the cruel word is that she's the Cabinet cripple), with **Brock Adams** and **Patricia Roberts Harris** not far behind in the low esteem derby. There are now 51 Georgians on the White House staff and 18 more at OMB.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Director of the Council on Wage and Price Stability—Barry Bosworth, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, was an economic adviser to Senator Birch Bayh (D-Ind.) during his 1976 presidential campaign.

Assistant to the President for Reorganization—Richard Pettigrew, a Florida lawyer, was speaker of the Florida House. In 1969 he served as chairman of the Florida legislature's government organization and efficiency committee.

Director of the Central Administrative Unit—Richard Harden, an efficiency expert, was Carter's assistant for organization and budget matters, but lost that position under the new plan for reorganizing the White House. He is not highly regarded by his colleagues at the White House, but has survived the reshuffling in this newly-created office.

Chairman of the Federal Council on Aging—Nelson Cruikshank was president of the National Council of Senior Citizens. He also served as co-chairman of the National Committee on Senior Citizens for the Carter campaign.

Deputy Special Representative for Trade Negotiations—Alan Wolff served as White House general counsel for trade negotiations since 1973 and was senior attorney for international affairs in the Department of Treasury.

Deputy Special Representative for Trade Negotiations—Alonzo McDonald, an Atlanta native, was the director of McKinsey and Co., a management consulting firm. He was a reporter for the *Atlanta Journal* in the late 1940s.

Office of Management and Budget

Assistant to the Director—Hubert Harris was vice president of the Citizens and Southern National Bank in Atlanta.

Director for Congressional Relations—Mark Gordon was a staff member of the Senate Appropriations Committee, and has been a program analyst and budget examiner at OMB.

AGRICULTURE

Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Affairs and Commodity Programs—Harry Wilhelm was the Ford Foundation representative for India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka, where he promoted domestic research and development programs in agricultural and rural development, education, the arts, population, health and nutrition, and public planning and management.

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Marketing Services—Jerry Hill was administrative assistant to former Senator John Tunney (D-Cal.).

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Rural Development—Henrietta Duncan McArthur was assistant vice president of the Citizens and Southern National Bank in Atlanta. As a member of Carter's transition team, she

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helped to establish a talent bank for the presidential personnel office.

General Counsel—Sarah Weddington, a Texas lawyer, was once a member of the Texas House of Representatives.

Administrator of the Federal Grain Inspection Service—L. E. Bartelt was assistant director of the California Department of Food and Agriculture, and head of its Animal Industry Division.

Administrator of the Food Safety and Quality Service—Dr. Robert Angelotti was associate director for compliance in the FDA's Bureau of Foods and special assistant to the bureau director.

Administrator of the Packers and Stockyards Administration—Charles Jennings was president of the Kansas City Stockyards and president of the American Stockyards Association.

Administrator of the Rural Development Service—William Nagle was director of economic development for the state of Maryland.

Administrator of the Foreign Agricultural Service—Thomas Hughes, a Washington consultant, was executive assistant to Orville Freeman during Freeman's tenures as governor of Minnesota and U. S. Secretary of Agriculture.

COMMERCE

Administrator of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration—Richard Frank, an expert on the law of the sea, was director of the Center for Law and Social Policy's international project. He is the husband of Jane Frank, deputy secretary to the Cabinet.

Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Commerce—W. Dean Morgan was vice president and general manager of the foods division of Lever Brothers.

DEFENSE

Undersecretary of the Army—Walter LaBerge was assistant secretary for defense support of NATO. He was previously an assistant secretary of the Air Force for research and development in the Nixon and Ford Administrations.

Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Manpower, Reserve Affairs, and Installations—Antonia Chayes, an early Carter supporter in Massachusetts, was an attorney with the Boston firm Csaplar and Bok and dean of Tufts University's Jackson College. She was also a member of the Kennedy White House staff. She is married to Harvard law professor Abram Chayes, who was a legal adviser to the State Department during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Manpower, Reserve Affairs and Installations—Robert Pirie was deputy assistant director for national security of the Congressional Budget Office.

HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

Administrator of the Health Services Administration—George Lythcott was a professor of pediatrics and associate vice chancellor at the University of Wisconsin's Center for Health Services.

Director of the National Cancer Institute—Dr. Arthur Upton, a radiation expert, was a professor of pathology at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. He is purported to emphasize cancer prevention rather than cure.

Inspector General—Thomas Morris was a top official at OMB and the GAO and is highly regarded by Califano, with whom he worked at Defense.

Deputy Inspector General—Charles Ruff, a professor at Georgetown University's Law Center, was the fourth Watergate special prosecutor, following Henry Ruth, Leon Jaworski, and Archibald Cox.

Director of the National Institute of Education—Patricia Graham was a professor of education at Harvard, vice president of Radcliffe College, and dean of the Radcliffe Institute.

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Education—Peter Relic was superintendent of schools in Hamilton, Ohio. He will be working under Deputy Commissioner of Education John Ellis, former superintendent of schools in Ohio.

Director of the Children's Bureau—Blandina Cardenas was vice president of the Intercultural Resources Laboratory in San Antonio, Texas. In 1974-75 she was a Rockefeller Fellow assigned to the staff of then-Senator Walter Mondale. She was also a regional coordinator for the National Educational Task Force de La Raza.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Assistant to the Secretary for International Affairs—Tila Maria de Hancock, a native of Chile, was a consultant on international program development for the Skidmore, Owings and Merrill architectural and planning firm.

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Deputy Assistant Secretary for Regulatory Functions—Patricia Worthy was a lawyer with the Washington firm Dolphin and Stafford.

Deputy Administrator of the Federal Insurance Administration—J. Robert Hunter has been acting administrator of this office since December 1974.

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Assisted Housing—Nancy Chisholm has been with HUD since 1970.

INTERIOR

Assistant Secretary for Policy, Budget, and Administration—Robert Mendelsohn was a member of the San Francisco board of supervisors.

Assistant Secretary for Energy and Minerals—Joan Davenport had been with the Federal Energy Administration since 1975.

Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs—Forrest Gerard, a Blackfoot Indian, ran a Washington consulting firm that lobbies for five Indian tribes. He was also a staff assistant to the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Subcommittee on Indian Affairs.

Assistant to the Secretary and Land Utilization Adviser—Curtis Berkland was director of the Bureau of Land Management.

Deputy Director of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation—Paul Pritchard was a Georgia state government official and executive director of the Appalachian Trail Conference in Harper's Ferry, West Virginia.

Deputy Solicitor—Fred Ferguson was assistant solicitor for minerals in the Division of Energy and Resources.

JUSTICE

Assistant Administrator of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration—John Rector was staff director and chief counsel of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency.

LABOR

Chairman of the National Commission on Employment and Unemployment Statistics—Sar Levitan was director of the Center for Manpower Studies at George Washington University. He is the author of numerous books on labor economics and federal public assistance programs.

Assistant Secretary for Administration and Management—Alfred Zuck was the Labor Department's comptroller. He has been with the department for 19 years.

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Program Analysis and Policy Development—Donald Nichols was an economics professor at the University of Wisconsin and a senior economist for the Senate Budget Committee. He will serve under Arnold Packer, former chief economist for that committee.

Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration—Basil Whitings was a senior program officer with the division of national affairs at the Ford Foundation. Previously he served as special assistant to the administrator of New York City's Human Resources Administration.

STATE

Deputy Under Secretary of State for Management—Benjamin Read, a prominent figure in the foreign policy establishment, was president of the German Marshall Fund of the United States, executive secretary of the State Department during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, and director of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs—Sally Shelton was an aide to Senator Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.). She had initially agreed to accept the ambassadorship to El Salvador, but that offer was withdrawn for undisclosed reasons.

U. S. Representative to the European Office of the United Nations—William vanden Heuvel was a partner in the New York law firm of Strook, Strook and Lavan. He was co-chairman, with Midge Costanza, of Carter's campaign in New York, but failed to impress Hamilton Jordan, and thus did not accompany Costanza to the White House.

Ambassador to Barbados and Grenada—Frank Ortiz was deputy executive secretary of the State Department.

Ambassador to Bulgaria—Dr. Raymond Garthoff was a specialist on Soviet affairs for the Army, NATO and the State Department. He has been a senior Foreign Service Inspector in the State Department since 1974.

Ambassador to Guyana—John Burke has been a Foreign Service officer since 1956 and deputy chief of mission in Bangkok since 1976.

Ambassador to Nicaragua—Dr. Mauricio Solaun, a native of Cuba, was a sociologist at the University of Illinois.

Ambassador to Qatar—Andrew Kilgore, a career Foreign Service officer, was deputy chief of the U. S. mission in Wellington, New Zealand.

Ambassador to Sweden—Rodney Kennedy-Minott was a professor of U. S. history at California State University at Hayward. He is the author of books on veterans' organiza-

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tions, California politics, and Hitler.
Ambassador to Sri Lanka—W. Howard Wriggins was director of Columbia University's Southern Asian Institute.
Ambassador to Uruguay—Lawrence Pezzulo was deputy assistant secretary of State for congressional relations.
Representative to the Vatican—David Walters, a Miami lawyer, is the first Catholic to serve in this post.

TREASURY

General Counsel—Robert Mundheim was a professor at the University of Pennsylvania Law School and a finance professor at the University's Wharton School of Finance. Robert Carswell was Carter's first choice for the post when it looked like Kenneth Axelson would be named Deputy Secretary of the Treasury. When Axelson withdrew his name from consideration, tainted by corporate scandal revelations, Carswell was moved up to the Deputy slot, leaving open the counsel position. Mundheim's academic expertise in corporate and financial law won him the nomination.
Director of the Office of International Tax Affairs—Charles Kingson has been the Treasury Department's deputy international tax counsel since September 1976.
Tax Legislative Counsel—Daniel Halperin, a law professor at the University of Pennsylvania, served as deputy tax counsel from 1969-70.

U. S. Customs Service

Commissioner—Robert Chasen was a vice president of International Telephone and Telegraph and was once an FBI agent.
Assistant to the Commissioner—Fred Clark was assistant secretary for administration and management at the Labor Department.

AGENCIES AND COMMISSIONS

ACTION

Director of Congressional Affairs—Daniel Maldonado was chief assistant to Rep. Edward Roybaf (D-Cal.) on the House Appropriations Committee.
Associate Director for Domestic Operations—John Lewis ran unsuccessfully for Andrew Young's Atlanta congressional seat earlier this year.
Assistant Director for Policy and Planning—Irene Tinker was head of the American Association for the Advancement of Science's international office. As a political scientist she has done work on the role of women in development.
Assistant Director for Administration and Finance—Mary Leyland was an executive officer in the office of the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.
General Counsel—Harry McLean was the first assistant attorney general for general legal services in Colorado. He did legal work for the Colorado Treasury Department while Sam Brown, present ACTION director, was state treasurer.
Director of the Peace Corps—Carolyn Payton was head of the Howard University Counseling Center. Previously she was the Peace Corps' deputy director for the Windward and Leeward Islands and Barbados.

Agency for International Development

Assistant Administrator for Intra-governmental and International Affairs—Ted Van Dyk was an assistant to Senator Hubert Humphrey and a top policy adviser for McGovern's 1972 presidential campaign. Early in 1976 he turned down Carter's personal invitation to work for him in the primaries.
Assistant Administrator for Program and Policy Coordination—Alexander Shakow was deputy assistant administrator for program and policy coordination. He has also been director of Peace Corps operations in Indonesia.
Assistant Administrator of Program and Management Services—Donald McDonald

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was head of the AID program in Vietnam.
Administrator for Africa—Golen Butcher, a Washington lawyer with White, Fine, and Verville, was counsel of the House International Relations Committee and a foreign affairs adviser to the Carter campaign.
Administrator for Latin America—Abelardo Valdez is a Washington attorney.
Administrator for the Near East—Joseph Wheeler was director of the AID mission in Pakistan. He served two years in the Peace Corps, where he was responsible for programs in the Near East and South Asia.

Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

Assistant Director—John Newhouse has been a counselor for national security programs at ACDA since 1973. He is the author of *Cold Dawn*, a book on the strategic arms limitation talks that received *The Washington Monthly*'s Political Book Award in 1974. He has also been a staff member on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution.

Civil Aeronautics Board

Member—Elizabeth Bailey is the first woman to serve on the board. She was head of the economics research department of Bell Laboratories and a professor of economics at New York University and has had no experience in airline regulation. She favors increasing competition among airlines as a means of reducing fares.

Commodity Futures Trading Commission

Director—Michael Caughlin, Jr. was a senior economist in the commissioner's Office of Policy and Planning.

Community Services Administration

Director—Graciela Olivarez was the planning officer for the state of New Mexico.
Assistant Director for Policy, Planning and Evaluation—Robert Landman was Graciela Olivarez's deputy state planning officer in New Mexico.
Assistant Director for Community Action—Robert Smith was national coordinator for voter registration for the Democratic National Committee and an aide to presidential assistant Joseph Aragon.
Assistant Director for Management—John Gabusi was special assistant to Rep. Morris Udall and ran Udall's 1976 presidential campaign. He was also a staff member of Energy Action, a public interest energy group.

Energy Research and Development Administration

Assistant Administrator for Field Operations—David Israel was head of ERDA's Office of Programs Integration.

Environmental Protection Agency

Special Assistant to the Administrator—Barbara Bankoff was a senior analyst with the Government Research Corp. She was also a member of the staff of Rep. John Brademas (D-Ind.).
Assistant Administrator for Water and Hazardous Materials—Thomas Jorling was director of the Center for Environmental Studies at Williams College.
Assistant Administrator for Toxic Chemical Control—Steve Jellinek was staff director of the Council on Environmental Quality.
Assistant Administrator for Planning and Management—Bill Drayton prepared reorganization proposals for the Carter transition team.
Assistant Administrator for Air and Waste Management—Dave Hawkins was staff attorney for the Natural Resources Defense Council.
General Counsel—Joan Bernstein was an attorney for the Federal Trade Commission.

Federal Communications Commission

Chairman—Joseph Fogarty left the Federal Maritime Commission in 1976 to become a member of the FCC.

Federal Election Commission

Commissioner—John McGarry, a Boston lawyer, was the House special counsel on elections and a staff aide to the House Administration Committee. He is a close friend of House Speaker Tip O'Neill, who apparently has pressured Carter into choosing McGarry over candidates for the position.

Federal Energy Administration

Assistant Administrator—Hazel Rollins has been general counsel of the Community Services Administration since June 1976. She was also director of FEA's consumer affairs office.

Federal Home Loan Bank Board

Chairman—Robert McKinney, a Naval Academy classmate of Carter's, was Carter's 1976 campaign chairman in Indiana. He was chairman of the First Federal Savings and Loan Association of Indiana, which is currently under investigation by a House subcommittee for alleged conflicts of interest. McKinney was also a senior partner of the law firm that represents that association, and chairman of an insurance and construction materials company that does business with some of First Federal's customers. McKinney's nomination was vigorously opposed by numerous civil rights, labor, and consumer groups. His critics accused First Federal of "redlining," the

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practice of refusing to grant morgages in older, inner-city neighborhoods.

Federal Maritime Commission

Commissioner—Richard Daschbach was an aide to Senator Russell Long (D-La.). He has also been a staff counsel dealing with maritime issues for the Senate Commerce, Science, and Transportation Committee.

Federal Power Commission

Chairman—Charles Curtis was an attorney with Van Ness, Curtis, Feldman and Sutcliffe, a firm specializing in energy law. Previously he was counsel to the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

Commissioner—Georgiana Sheldon was acting chairman of the Civil Service Commission until last month.

General Services Administration

Administrator of General Services—Jay Solomon was chairman of the board of Arlen Shopping Centers Co. and a top executive of its parent firm, Arlen Realty and Development Corp., which is the largest shopping center development firm in the country. He was also a Democratic precinct chairman and a member of the Hamilton County (Tennessee) Democratic Executive Committee.

National Endowment for the Humanities

Chairman—Joseph Duffey was Carter's Assistant Secretary of State for Cultural Affairs. Duffey ran Carter's Washington campaign office, even though Peter Bourne was the official director. Before joining Carter's transition team last November he was chief administrative officer of the American Association of Univeristy Professors. In 1970 he ran as a peace candidate for the Senate in Connecticut and in 1968 worked in Eugene McCarthy's presidential campaign. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. has called Duffey a "cheap political opportunist" who was "hopeless" as chief of AAUP and disastrous in his role as head of the liberal organization, Americans for Democratic Action. He is married to Anne Wexler, Deputy Under Secretary of Commerce for Regional Affairs.

National Transportation Safety Board

Chairman—James King was a popular member of the White House staff as Carter's special assistant for personnel. He was director of community affairs for the Massachusetts Bay Transit Authority until he joined the Carter campaign as trip director. He was also once an aide to Senator Edward Kennedy.

Nuclear Regulatory Commission

Chairman—Peter Hendrie was a physicist and the chairman of the department of applied science at the Brookhaven National Laboratories. He was also a deputy director of the Atomic Energy Commission, the predecessor of the NRC. Several public interest lobby groups have criticized Hendrie for his support of a breeder reactor project in Tennessee which is opposed by Carter.

Member—Kent Hansen was a professor of nuclear engineering at MIT. Like Hendrie, he is regarded as being pro-industry concerning the pace of nuclear development.

Member—Peter Bradford, a lawyer, worked in the office of former Maine governor Kenneth Curtis. He was also a six-year member and one-time chairman of Maine's Public Utilities Commission. He was a member of Ralph Nader's Public Citizen organization, but long before Nader's group began examining the nuclear power industry.

Securities and Exchange Commission

Commissioner—Roberta Karmel is the first woman to be named to the commission. She was a securities lawyer and partner in the New York firm Rogers and Wells and was recently named to the board of the New York Metropolitan Transportation Authority. She worked in the SEC's New York Regional Office from 1962-68.

Tennessee Valley Authority

Director—S. David Freeman, an advocate of energy conservation and environmental protection, was Schlesinger's key aide on the White House energy policy staff. He was an engineer and attorney for the TVA for eleven years. There may be some opposition to his confirmation because several senators fear that his commitment to energy conservation could jeopardize economic growth.

RESIGNATIONS

Assistant to the Secretary of HUD for Public Affairs—Arch Parsons.

Deputy Director of the CIA—Henry Knoche resigned after 24 years with the CIA for reasons that were not explicitly disclosed. However it seems he is leaving because of policy differences with Director Stansfield Turner. It is rumored that a major CIA reorganization is in the making, and that Knoche did not like the looks of it.

Federal Maritime Commissioner—Bob Casey.

Federal Power Commissioner—James Watt.

Federal Trade Commision, New York Regional Director—Richard Givens resigned after six years with the commission. He explained that his decision was not motivated by dissatisfaction with the commission but by career considerations. He plans to enter private law practice.

Interstate Commerce Commissioner—Dale Hardin.

Chairman of the National Transportation Safety Board—Webster Todd, Jr.

Chairman of the U. S. Railway Association—Arthur Lewis.

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Tidbits and Outrages

Who Was That Gang of Four I Saw You With Last Night?

The Eyewitness News effect has apparently reached all the way to mainland China. "For the first time in many years," writes Arnold Isaacs in *The Baltimore Sun*, "The People's Daily has enlivened its pages with jokes." But, Isaacs warns, they're not exactly sidesplitters; here's an example:

Two Bulgarians are talking in a coffee shop. One asks, "Do you know which is the longest country?"

"Chile," says the other.

"If Chile is the longest country," the first says, "how long does it take to ride a horse from one end of it to the other?"

"I suppose one year at the most."

"The Soviet Union said more than ten years ago that it would withdraw its troops from Hungary and it has not withdrawn them until now," muses the first Bulgarian. "You can imagine how long Hungary is."

I Am Joe's Transnational Linkage

Joseph Daniel Duffey, the Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs and the President's choice to head the National Endowment for the Humanities, is said to prefer to be called "Joe." But his taste for informality does not seem to extend to his public pronouncements. Take this paragraph from a recent statement about the work of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs:

"At such a time, the stimulation of transnational linkages necessary for meaningful two-way communication must supersede propagandistic and chauvinistic functions which in the past constituted too large a share of our activities."

Where You Stand Is Where You Park

Parking in Washington costs the average person $60 to $70 per month. So Senator Gary Hart's recent proposal that congressmen and their staff, who now park for free, pay from $10 to $50 per month depending on their income still seemed to offer a bargain to people who work on the Hill. The small charge, it was assumed, would be paid from the substantial salary increases to congressmen and their employees, and if anyone didn't want to pay he could use public transportation and save energy. All in all, an irresistible case. But when the vote came in the Senate, Hart lost 66 to 28. Note among the yeas (those voting for free parking) the number of conservatives who one would have thought would be opponents of government handouts; and of environmentalist supporters of energy conservation:

YEAS—65

			Riegle	Scott	Talmadge
Anderson	Dole	Jackson	Sarbanes	Sparkman	Tower
Baker	Domenici	Javits	Sasser	Stennis	Wallop
Bartlett	Durkin	Laxalt	Schmitt	Stevens	Williams
Bayh	Eagleton	Long	Schweiker	Stone	Young
Bentsen	Eastland	Lugar			
Brooke	Ford	Magnuson			
Bumpers	Garn	Matsunaga			
Burdick	Glenn	McClellan			
Byrd, Robert C.	Gravel	McIntyre			
	Griffin	Melcher			
Cannon	Hansen	Metcalf			
Case	Hathaway	Moynihan			
Chiles	Hayakawa	Muskie			
Church	Hollings	Nelson			
Cranston	Huddleston	Pearson			
Curtis	Humphrey	Randolph			
DeConcini	Inouye	Ribicoff			

NAYS—28

Abourezk	Danforth	Packwood
Allen	Goldwater	Pell
Bellmon	Hart	Percy
Biden	Haskell	Proxmire
Byrd, Harry F., Jr.	Hatfield	Roth
	Heinz	Stevenson
Helms	Kennedy	Thurmond
Chafee	McGovern	Weicker
Clark	Metzenbaum	Zorinsky
Culver	Nunn	

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Every Bureaucrat a King

Senator Edward M. Kennedy recently offered an amendment that would have forbidden the government to pay the cost of first-class air travel for federal employees, including members of Congress. Here's Jim Perry's report of what followed, from the late, lamented *National Observer*:

"Russell Long is chairman of the Finance Committee, and he doesn't like amendments to his legislation and he especially doesn't like amendments sponsored by Ted Kennedy. If Kennedy's amendment were agreed to, he said, 'it will abolish first class,' and that, he felt, would be bad. 'Some people are four feet taller than I am . . . . It is a matter of human kindness to have enough space so they can spread out . . . . ' Beyond that, he argued, 'I know when I travel I oftentimes go first class because my wife is like my mother used to be. She is always bringing along strawberries for someone. To have foot space we need first-class seats with all that baggage.'

"Sen. Warren Magnuson of the state of Washington said it's a long flight back home for him and his wife, and he just wasn't going to fly coach—ever.

"Kennedy notes he wasn't asking anyone to give up first-class travel. He was simply suggesting that the taxpayers shouldn't be asked to subsidize it. People could pay for the difference between coach fare and first class out of their own pockets.

" 'Why not let the market place make the decision?' Kennedy asked. 'If there is a demand for first-class service the market will provide it . . . . The fact of the matter is that most Americans cannot afford to fly on the airlines . . . . If they can, they cannot afford to buy first-class tickets. They ask themselves, as they walk through the first-class cabin on the way to coach, why should they be subsidizing the people in the first-class section?'

"Good question. The vote was close—42 yes, 46 no. The record shows the vote was 43 to 45, but that's wrong. Sen. Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin voted against Kennedy and then when he came back from dinner he changed his vote the other way. If he'd voted with Kennedy in the first place, Kennedy could have made a parliamentary maneuver that would have led to another vote. The Kennedy people are not happy with Gaylord Nelson.

"Conservatives lined up against Kennedy. They almost always line up for indirect spending. In that way, they contribute as much to inflated Federal budgets as do the liberals who line up for direct spending for social-welfare programs."

Today's Action Army

If you've forgotten about My Lai and the body-count mentality that led to it, we urge you to read the following report by Ted Gup of *The Washington Post*:

"ALBANY, N.Y., July 30—Army witnesses told a House investigations subcommittee today that pressures were so great that they put fictitious names and data into a computer to fill weekly recruiting quotas.

" 'It was a collective agreement,' M. Sgt. Kenny Treece testified. He said that 'phantom recruiting' was needed to bolster morale in a recruiting district unable to meet its quotas.

"Today's first witness before the House Armed Services Investigations Subcommittee was Sgt. Leah Wainwright, who first brought the issue to the attention of Chairman Samuel S. Stratton (D-N.Y.) in an anonymous letter. She testified that the fictitious names were those of bona fide recruits with single letters changed and one digit changed in their Social Security numbers.

"Wainwright said she sent her letter anonymously to protect her career. She quoted Treece as telling her and others in the Albany office that whoever had leaked the information would be killed—'run over 13 times in his car.'

"After reports of recruiting abuses appeared in an Albany newspaper, Wainwright said, 'someone broke into my apartment two or three times over the weekend . . . They left all my lights on, my doors open and strangled my cat.'

"One Albany district recruiter who did not testify and who requested anonymity, said quota pressures were very strong.

" 'If you don't make mission [quota], you're done. It's all based on numbers. If you make the numbers you're a hero; if not, your career is down the tube,' he said."

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The National Geographic: How to Be Non-Profit and Get Rich

by Lila Locksley

In the shaky world of the magazine business, longstanding financial prosperity is the rarest of commodities; it's only natural that those few who achieve it should swell with pride. So if officials of the *National Geographic* occasionally overstep the bounds of modesty, it's perfectly understandable. As Melville Bell Grosvenor, the magazine's editor-in-chief, points out, "kings and queens, astronauts and renowned scientists" are among its subscribers, and its headquarters is a "dramatically handsome" building in downtown Washington, "ten stories of classic simplicity gleaming with the pale beauty of marble," flanked by a "magnolia shaded parking lot." These are rare and awesome achievements.

The National Geographic Society, which publishes the magazine, is a hugely successful corporation. In 1975 its receipts were $137.5 million and its net worth $80.5 million and rising. The magazine's circulation is 9.5 million, fourth largest in America. The society produces books, movies, television shows, globes, and maps, as well as sponsoring exploration and research around the world. It has a diversified investment portfolio worth more than $60 million. In 1975, its income exceeded its expenditures by $9 million (although, as we'll see, the

Lila Locksley is an intern on the staff of The Washington Monthly.

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Society doesn't call this figure its profit).

As if to celebrate its success, the National Geographic functions in princely fashion. At its headquarters building, white-jacketed waiters serve multi-course luncheons to Society officials in two private dining rooms. It is the only organization in downtown Washington with private surface parking provided free to its employees. Salaries and employee benefits are generous, especially at the top. In 1975 the Society's president, Dr. Melvin Payne, made $128,095; Melville Grosvenor made $59,520; his son, editor Gilbert Grosvenor, $85,373; and Society vice president and secretary Robert E. Doyle, $81,909. The magazine's associate editor makes $67,080; its senior assistant editor, $60,244; and its illustrations editor, $54,763. In addition to its downtown property, the Society owns a 150-acre tract in Gaithersburg, Maryland, on which stands a 400,000-square-foot Membership Building that overlooks an 11-acre lake and houses 1,000 employees. For an organization that started as a tiny band of geography hobbyists less than a century ago, the National Geographic Society has done very well.

But this is more than a heartening tale of free enterprise. The National Geographic is a non-profit organization, and as a result it gets a number of important breaks from the government that amount to an indirect subsidy from the taxpayers. The Society's high style of living is not only made possible by the government—because of the way non-profit rules work, it is actually encouraged by the government. The luster of the National Geographic's success dims a little when you realize that the rest of us are paying for it.

Impoverished Do-Gooders

Most people have only a hazy notion of what non-profit organizations are and what kind of breaks they get—the conventional wisdom seems to be that they're all made up of impoverished do-gooders who need some help from the government in order to continue their humanitarian work. Sometimes that is the case, but far from always. The truth is that under the law, non-profit organizations need not be non-profit or worthy, and that often they are neither.

The theory behind government non-profit laws is a reasonable one: that certain kinds of organizations are of great social good but usually fall through the cracks of the free market system. Nobody wants all altruistic activity to flow from the government itself, so it's a good idea for the government to help along such organizations while allowing them to maintain their independence. In pursuit of that worthy goal, the government drew up a list of safe, reasonable organizations that deserved this protection—ones involved in charitable, religious, scientific, educational, or literary work—and constructed a system to help them.

Non-profit organizations don't have to pay income taxes or property taxes; they can send mail at reduced rates; and people who give them money can deduct those donations from their taxable income. In return, non-profits are forbidden to distribute earnings to shareholders, the assumption being that if nobody *gets* any profits, there must not be any.

Of course, none of these rules and regulations confront the possibility that there might be some non-profit organizations that take in far more money than they spend, like the National Geographic. These organizations work hard to eat up their net income by artificially raising their overhead—hence the high salaries, the dining rooms, the free parking, the gleaming building, the generous investment portfolio. In a corporation that isn't protected by non-profit laws, these perquisites might be protested by stockholders as unnecessary, but because the Geographic is non-profit

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it doesn't have to report any financial information to the members of the National Geographic Society, who fund it. The Geographic's members know far less about where their money goes than do the stockholders of most corporations.

Still, profitable non-profits continue to get all the tax breaks their poorer sisters receive. On its downtown property, the Geographic would be paying about $300,000 a year in property tax (and property tax in downtown Washington is artificially low because assessments have not gone up along with property values) if it weren't exempt. The tax on the Maryland property would be about the same. In a city like Washington, which is full of non-profit institutions, the property-tax exemption contributes mightily to the low quality of schools and other services.

The mailing breaks are of great value to the National Geographic because magazines do a lot of mailing in the course of soliciting and serving subscribers. In 1976, the magazine spent about $3 million on third-class mailings—$6 million less than if it had paid the regular rate for third class. It spent almost as much on second-class mailing, and saved about $2.5 million. These savings, of course, constitute a crucial business advantage over for-profit magazines because magazines' circulations depend largely on how many solicitations they can send out.

The Cousteaus and the Goodalls

That the Geographic could be so plainly profitable and still qualify for a government program most people imagine helps idealistic chronic money-losers certainly points to one flaw in that program. But there's also another important flaw in the non-profit regulations: not only do they not guarantee non-profitability, they also don't guarantee that the causes they help are worthy of public support.

In the case of the Geographic, the Jacques Cousteaus and Jane Goodalls who get research grants are only a minor part of the Society's operations—in 1975 they got $2.6 million, about three per cent of the Society's gross revenues. Mainly, what the government is subsidizing is an expensively operated magazine, put out for the entertainment of an affluent readership and filled with innocuous articles on faraway places—something that, it seems, the readers ought to pay for themselves without any help from the non-reading public.

Reasonable people might conceivably argue about the Geographic's contribution to the public good, but there are some organizations under the non-profit umbrella that aren't even debatable. For example, most of the New York City nursing homes whose nefarious activities were exposed over the last couple of years were non-profit organizations that paid enormous salaries to cover their excess of income over expenditures. And at the same time, the government excludes from non-profit benefits any organization that endorses legislation or candidates for office, whether or not it's profitable or worthy. (Because we don't want to obey this rule, *The Washington Monthly* is a for-profit organization, as is Common Cause—although certainly neither organization was formed with profit in mind.)

Because non-profit organizations are among the great respectable, established institutions in America, they are wreathed in a permanent aura of integrity and never get the skeptical attention they so richly deserve. Can't the government stop subsidizing worthy organizations once they're clearly able to stand on their own two feet economically? Is it possible to weed out the not-so-worthies from non-profit protection? Are there organizations that need and deserve the encouragement government gives non-profits but aren't getting it because of flaws in the rules? No doubt these are questions that have complex answers, but the trouble is that nobody is even asking them. ■

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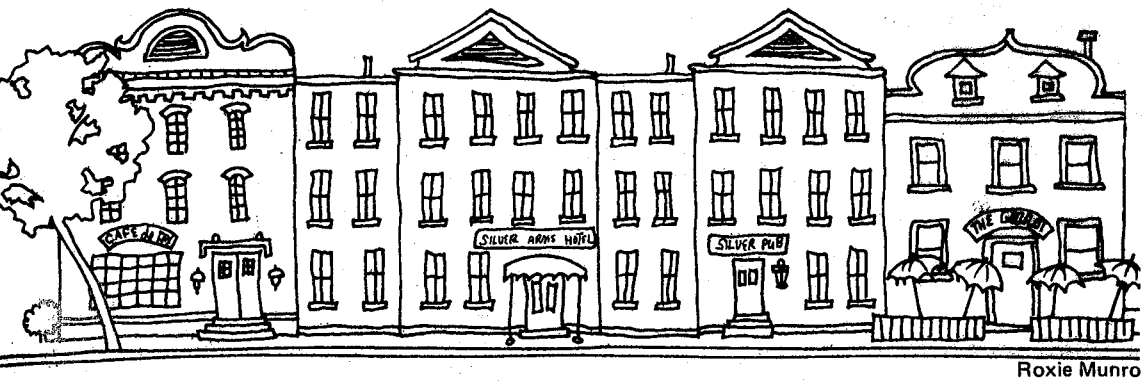

Roxie Munro

Where to Eat in Washington

by Jill Merrill

Since so many of our readers have work that brings them to Washington, we have decided to start a regular feature that will give them practical information to help make their stay a pleasant one, information about where to stay and where to eat. Whether you're on a tight budget or a generous expense account, we'll try to guide you to the right places. Last month's subject was where to stay, this month's, where to eat. They will continue to alternate each month.

Restaurants listed here are all located in the center of the city along—or near—the Connecticut Avenue corridor, beginning at K Street and ending in Upper Northwest above Rock Creek Park. They are all northwest of the White House. Restaurants in other parts of the city will be covered in future issues. The places we recommend most highly are indicated by an asterisk.

Arabian Nights, 2915 Connecticut Ave., 232-6684. Good Middle Eastern (mostly Iraqi) food, spiced more interestingly than at most restaurants of this sort. Altogether a good bargain in simple surroundings. Moderate.

Astor, 1813 M St., 331-7994. Although it's noisy and crowded (especially at lunch), the Astor has maintained a loyal clientele—for good reason. The large Greek salad at $1.45 and the Moussaka for $1.95 at either lunch or dinner are quite good. Mixed drinks are only 75 cents. Prices are higher ($4.50-$6.95, drinks $2) upstairs at night where the belly dancer performs every evening after 8:30.

Burger Chef, 1216 18th St. Self-service salad bar, but not much else, distinguishes it from the other fast-food places listed here. Cheap.

Caffe Italiano, 3516 Connecticut Ave., 966-2172. No credit cards. This is neither more nor less than the name implies: good, hearty Italian fare, complete with red-checked tablecloths, for a top price of $4.25.

***Calvert Cafe**, 1967 Calvert St., 232-5431. Across Rock Creek Park from the Shoreham Hotel, this is a good value. The food is entirely Middle Eastern and the most expensive item on the menu is $4.25. Couscous and kifta are good; whole lamb stuffed with pine nuts is excellent but must be ordered two days in advance.

***Cantina d'Italia**, 1214-A 18th St., 659-1830. A fine Northern Italian restaurant right off Connecticut Ave. Unpretentious on the outside (one has to walk downstairs into a black hole), but the food is superb most of the time. The freshly made pastas are excellent and rich; the striped bass with a delicate sauce—either hot or cold—is another delight. Its popularity, which is partially responsible for the harried service, is well-deserved. The menu is extensive: a bit too ambitious for the critic, a bit overwhelming for the initiate, but never dull. Expensive.

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Chez Camille, 1737 DeSales St., 393-3330. Located right next to the Mayflower Hotel, it is probably better at lunch than at dinner. Cold dishes such as the pate platter, hors d'oeuvres varies, or tongue are particularly good. Once a wonderful "little" restaurant near the *Washington Post*, Camille moved and is now a "big" restaurant but, sad to say, only in size. Expensive.

Christopher's Steaks Unlimited, 1232 20th St., 785-2100. This all-beef menu is surprisingly low-priced: 7-oz. beefburger for $2.65 to N. Y. strip steak for $6.95. It's good as well.

Columbia Station, 1836 Columbia Rd., 667-2900. No credit cards, no reservations. Near the Washington Hilton Hotel, this is a neighborhood bar/restaurant in a primarily Spanish-speaking community. The atmosphere is lively, the food moderately priced. A special for $3.50 is served every night and Spare Rib night (Thursday) is very popular. Vegetarian dishes also offered.

Court of the Mandarins, 1824 M St., 223-6666. Moderately priced, this tasteful restaurant provides a relaxed respite from the noises of downtown life. Peking duck available without advance notice; several other specialties for those who want to sample various Chinese cuisines.

Duke Zeibert's, 1722 L St., 296-5030. Crowded and noisy but the cuisine—American-Jewish—is excellent and the jocks and lobbyists love it. The portions are huge and the terrific pickles are gratis. About $10 a person.

***El Caribe**, 1828 Columbia Rd., 234-6969. Delicious Latin-American food at this restaurant, which is north of the Washington Hilton in a Spanish-speaking community. The menu is extensive, ranging from squid (superior) to many variations of chicken with rice. Excellent value. Moderate.

Twenty Years
of Gourmet
Middle Eastern
Dining

Res. 737-1371
Open Seven Days

Rear 1734 N St.
In the Nation's Capital

El Dorado, 1832 Columbia Rd., 232-0333. Good Spanish food at modest prices.

Empress (David Lee's), 1875 Connecticut Ave., 462-8111. Mandarin restaurant with large portions; Peking duck can be ordered with no advance notice. Right near the Washington Hilton. Moderate.

***Empress (Trudie Ball's)**, 1018 Vermont Ave., 737-2324. Just off K St., this well-known restaurant specializes in Peking duck and Hunan (spicy) specialties. Good service, good food, good value. Moderate.

***Gaylord's**, 1731 Connecticut Ave., 232-1128. A good Indo-Pakistani restaurant with a wide selection of curries. The staff is accommodating and willing to explain the menu. If you like Indian food, you will not be disappointed. Moderate.

Golden Temple of Conscious Cookery, 1521 Connecticut Ave., 234-6134. No credit cards, reservations, or alcohol. Fresh, vegetarian food. Very crowded at lunch. Inexpensive and a good value.

Greek Village, 1712 Connecticut Ave., 232-4768. Modest Greek fare at remarkably modest prices (particularly the specials). Belly dancer upstairs in the evenings.

Greenery, 1144 18th St., 872-1658. No reservations. Lots of hanging plants and salads, as the name implies. Very crowded at lunch. While the evenings are more civilized, salad for dinner may be less appealing, so a choice between fare and space must be made. Inexpensive.

Gusti's, 1837 M St., 331-9444. This Italian restaurant stands apart in one way: it is bigger than the others. In addition to ten dining rooms, there is a sidewalk cafe. The quality of the food, like the prices, is modest.

Harvey's, 1001 18th St., 833-1858. Harvey's is a Washington institution. The fare is all-American, with an emphasis on seafood; the bar is "intimate" and attractive and the drinks generous. Expensive.

Hot Shoppes, 1825 Connecticut Ave. and 1621 H St., 483-2816. The first is close to

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the Washington Hilton, the second near the White House. A comfortable family cafeteria, clean and reasonable. Inexpensive.

Il Giardino, 1110 21st St., 223-4555. Several blocks off Connecticut, this is the newest in a spate of recently opened northern Italian restaurants in this area. It has some good specialties, such as the agnolotti and cannelloni in cream sauce, but the service is poor at dinner and even poorer at lunch. Expensive.

Iron Gate Inn, 1734 N St., 737-1370. A converted 19th century stable, whose quiet courtyard offers the most charming setting for outdoor dining in downtown Washington. The Middle Eastern food doesn't quite match the ambiance, but is still a good value. Wine by the carafe is one of the best buys in Washington. Moderate.

Kozy Korner Restaurant, 1253 20th St., 785-4314. No reservations. Off Connecticut, this homey restaurant offers substantial meals at very good prices. The most expensive item is the sirloin steak with vegetable at $4.65.

***Jean-Pierre**, 1835 K St., 333-1066. Although the namesake of this distinguished restaurant is now owner-chef of **Le Lion d'Or**, the food remains superb. In spite of its rather undistinguished decor, this is the *ne plus ultra* of Washington's increasing number of fine French restaurants. We recommend the veal Francaise and the sole meuniere. Expensive.

Jockey Club, 2100 Massachusetts Ave., 659-8000. This restaurant, in the Fairfax Hotel, has undergone a great many changes since its ascendancy during the Kennedy years. The service is good and the setting attractive and quiet, but, by all accounts, the food is uneven. Very expensive.

Kramerbooks' Afterwords Cafe, 1517 Connecticut Ave., 387-1462. No reservations. Washington's only bookstore-cafe; one should not expect too much. Since there is no real kitchen, the menu is limited (quiches, salads), but the browsing is good. Inexpensive.

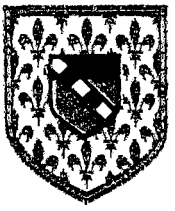
***La Fregate**, 2020 Florida Ave., 332-0682. A small, charming Vietnamese restaurant near the Washington Hilton. The food is excellent, particularly the hors d'oeuvres; the service is efficient but discreet. Pho Soup and Chicken with Five Spices are excellent. Moderate.

***Le Bagatelle**, 2000 K St., 872-8677. If you require a feast for the eyes as well as the mouth when dining out, this is the place for you. Le Bagatelle looks like an elegant garden with trellises, greenery, and excellent food. Always crowded, with tables too close together, one can nevertheless eat very well here—seafood and desserts especially. Expensive.

L'Escargot, 3309 Connecticut Ave., 966-7510. A fixed price menu for $8.95 is offered in addition to other good, solid, French fare. The food is unpretentious, well-prepared, and very tasty. Moderate.

***Le Lion d'Or**, 1150 Connecticut Ave., 296-7972. Jean-Pierre Goyenvalle has been responsible for enchanting the palates of many denizens and visitors for a number of years, and his new restaurant does not disappoint. Although the decor is more pretentious and it's noisier than **Jean-Pierre's**, the same high standard prevails in the kitchen. Very expensive.

Le Provencal, 1234 20th St., 223-2420. In any given roomful of Washington food snobs



Jean-Pierre
RESTAURANT FRANCAIS

JEAN MICHEL FARRET

1835 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

(202) 466-2022

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there is one subject that is unfailingly controversial: **Le Provencal.** For reasons that have always escaped this writer, this restaurant commands a following that Hannibal would envy. Expensive.

Le Souperb, 1221 Connecticut Ave., 347-7600. No credit cards or reservations. This is a cafeteria, in the middle of the downtown area, that serves good soups, stews, and sandwiches. Hearty fare; very crowded at lunch; closes at 8:00 p.m. Inexpensive.

Luigi's, 1132 19th St., 331-7574. No reservations. Two blocks off Connecticut Ave., this is a good value for either lunch or dinner. The pizza is excellent as are some of the fish dishes. Good service in spite of the sardine configuration of tables; sidewalk tables too. Moderate.

McDonald's, 1909 K St., and 2481 18th St. (near Washington Hilton). Still the cheapest fast food place in Washington.

The Montpelier, Madison Hotel, 15th & M Sts., 785-1000. Recently converted to buffet service with more efficient, albeit more uncertain—and still expensive (lunch $12.50, dinner $19.50)—results. If you want to be grand, this room is fit for the Sun King. The Lounge is less fancy and serves a lunch buffet with slightly less princely prices.

If you're into small hotels - you ought to get into the Tabard Inn, Washington, D.C.

Napoleon's, 2649 Connecticut Ave., 265-8955. Between the Shoreham and Sheraton-Park Hotels. Sidewalk tables and a standard—shrimp, beef, chicken—menu. While there is certainly no reason to go out of one's way to get here, its proximity to the two hotels is an asset. Moderate.

***Nathan's II,** 1211 Connecticut Ave., 659-1211. A new Northern Italian restaurant that is decidely superior (for the time being) to its Georgetown parent. Excellent pastas and vegetable dishes in an attractive atmosphere. Late-night dancing, too. Moderate.

***Omega,** 1856 Columbia Rd., 667-9600. No reservations. A neighborhood restaurant offering good Cuban food in a totally unpretentious setting. Lots of black beans, rice, chicken, and seafood, all modestly priced and well-prepared. Usually crowded so try to go very early or very late. Cheap.

Paradise Cafe, 1900 M St., 833-1218. No reservations. Right near **Luigi's,** this is also an attractive outdoor cafe. The decor is California Redwood and the atmosphere, like the food, is light and healthful. Inexpensive.

Paul Young's, 1120 Connecticut Ave., 331-7000. Good if not exceptional American cooking in the most spacious non-hotel dining room in Washington. Delicious onion rolls and a wine list that, despite recent price increases, still offers a few bargains. In the Safari Lounge you can have a more limited lunch menu at a moderate price and Heineken on draft. Expensive.

President Adams Room in the Hay-Adams Hotel, 800 16th St., 638-2260. Right across from the White House, this is a splendid room in the grande dame of Washington hotels. Breakfast and lunch are particularly good times to spot luminaries; on the other hand, it is quieter and more serene at dinner. Expensive.

Prime Rib, 2020 K St., 466-8811. A handsome room, with handsome beef, at handsome prices. It is so dark and so noisy, however, that one wonders if one isn't inside

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the cow's stomach, rather than the other way around. Expensive.

Rocky Raccoon Saloon, 1243 20th St., 872-1643. No reservations. Done up in a Western way, the food here is strictly "Tex-Mex." After 9 p.m. there is a country rock band and a nominal cover charge, except on Mondays and Tuesdays. (Of course, if one is already having dinner, there is no charge for the entertainment.) Inexpensive.

Roma, 3419 Connecticut Ave., 363-6611. Huge, Italianate garden complete with music and gurgling grape-infested plaster *putti*. Food is as average as the atmosphere is wild. Moderate.

Romeo & Juliet, 2020 K St., 296-7112. Primarily Northern Italian cuisine, this newly opened restaurant is still ironing out the wrinkles. Service, like the food, is spotty. Expensive.

Roy Rogers, 2021 I St. For our money, this is the best—and most underrated—fast-food place around. The hamburgers are fresh and hand-formed. The specialty of the house is a quite good roast beef sandwich, and there's also so-so fried chicken. Best of all, Roy has two excellent sauces you can't find at other fast food places—barbecue and horseradish.

Sans Souci, 726 17th St., 298-7424. If you want to star-gaze at lunch, this restaurant near the White House is the place for you. There are a number of stars who lunch here regularly (but not many from the Carter Administration), and, if you are more interested in craning your neck than eating good food, you won't be disappointed. At dinner it's half-empty and not chic at all. Very expensive.

Sea-Fair, 2655 Connecticut Ave., 667-5115. No reservations. In the same neighborhood as **Napoleon's**, but the cuisine is more American with, naturally, an emphasis on seafood. The reviews are mixed. For those who are cholesterol-conscious, no butter is served. Moderate.

Sea Catch, 2100 Massachusetts Ave., 659-8000. Like the **Jockey Club**, the Sea Catch is in the Fairfax Hotel; indeed, they share the same kitchen. They also share attractive surroundings complemented by discreet but attentive service. Apart from the Crab Imperial, however, there seems to be little here to justify the celestial prices. Very expensive.

Sholl's Cafeterias, 1032 Connecticut Ave. and 1433 K St. Simple, home-style cooking in the middle of downtown Washington. Don't bother with the over-cooked peas and carrots, but try carrot cake, liver and onions, pies, and spoon bread. Very low prices—a full meal for $2-$3.

Szechuan East, 1805 H St., 296-3588. Good, tangy Szechuan fare. Crowded at lunch; however, a carry-out window has been thoughtfully provided for those who want to picnic in Lafayette Park. Moderate.

Tabard Inn, 1739 N St., 785-1277. No credit cards. Open for breakfast and lunch. This charming hotel now has a restaurant. The food is excellent, by all accounts, and entirely fresh, including nitrite-free meats. In spite of its newness—it opened in July—a devoted clientele has already formed. Inexpensive.

***Tiberio**, 1915 K St., 452-1915. Near **Jean-Pierre** and **Le Bagatelle**, Tiberio offers Italian haute cuisine. The menu is extensive and the pastas and desserts are consistently good. Expensive.

Tucson Cantina, 2605 Connecticut Ave., 462-6410. No credit cards or reservations. Formerly Tippy's Taco House, the Cantina has improved its menu to include such items as beef and chicken enchiladas. For dinners, prices range from $1.49-$3.34. Right near the Shoreham and Sheraton-Park Hotels. Inexpensive.

Yenching Palace, 3524 Connecticut Ave., 362-8200. Uneven in quality but worth taking a chance on if you're up this way; excellent dumplings, I'm told. Moderate.

ristorante

TIBERIO

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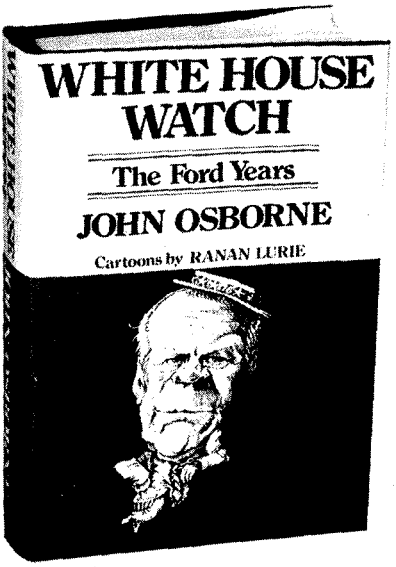
WHITE HOUSE WATCH
The Ford Years
by John Osborne
Cartoons by Ranan Lurie



No journalist writes as perceptively about the White House as John Osborne. In his book on the Ford Administration, the *New Republic* columnist documents the transition years between Nixon and Carter—the pardon (which Osborne condoned), Mayaguez, Ford's China trip, The Final Days ("The worst job of nationally noted reporting that I've observed during 49 years in the business"), the Reagan challenge, and the ascendancy of Jimmy Carter.

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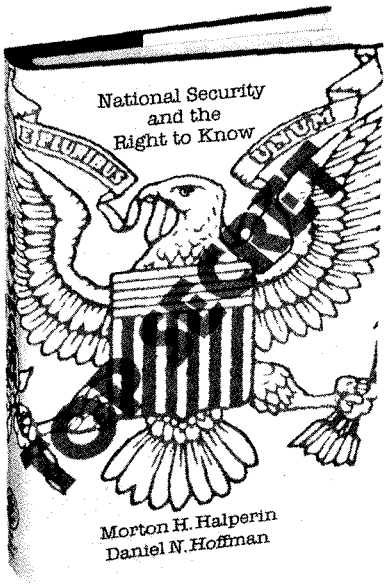

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The Corrupt Military: A Case History

by James Henderson

Most people think that government corruption is confined to politicians, and to state and local politicians in particular. Few consider dishonesty a major problem among federal career employees. But the truth is that corruption has become the rule among military career people. It is now assumed that an officer, if he does not continue to work for the government, will join the staff of a military contractor upon retirement. The result is a military procurement process increasingly influenced by the future employment possibilities of the military officers involved. The men in the following example may be innocent of anything other than a conflict of interest, but they are part of a larger pattern that should disturb us all.

James Henderson was a Nieman Fellow last year and is now a reporter for the Dallas Times-Herald.

June 22, 1976. Room 2154, Rayburn House Office Building. Meeting: National Security Subcommittee of the Committee on Governmental Operations. Subject: Questionable contract for mobile field radios by the Department of the Army.

Assistant Secretary of the Army Harold Brownman, in charge of installations and logistics, is accompanied by two generals and a civilian procurement officer. It is not a good day for Brownman. The contract in question is between the Army, where he now works, and E-Systems, Inc. of Dallas, where he had been a vice president a few years earlier.

"Information received by the subcommittee indicates that normal procedures may not have been followed and that favoritism toward the successful bidder may have been involved," says Rep. Jack Brooks of

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Texas, chairman of the subcommittee. "The circumstances seem to point to a predetermination on the part of the Army that E-Systems would receive the contract."

Brownman had nothing to do with the contract award. At the time, in March of 1974, he was not associated with E-Systems, having resigned from it a couple of years earlier to become deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency. Eugene E. Berg, the man he replaced in the Pentagon, the man responsible for the contract that enraged the subcommittee Brownman now faced, had gone on to become a vice president of E-Systems.

"Just a beautiful example of how not to do business," Brooks says. "Very strange . . . . " Explanations do not satisfy him. "I think that is the most high-flown bunch of hokum I have seen the Army provide in a long time."

"Here I have to defend the Army," Brownman says. "Procurements are not always issued out on the street in the best of environment in terms of timeliness, sense of urgencies, and in terms of that sort. So, from time to time one can expect and countenance errors, goofs, if you will. However, there has been a tenor in this hearing which might imply that there were people in the Department of the Army who might have been guilty of some wrongdoing or some improper design of approach to this procurement.

"I believe that this is just a good case of sloppy workmanship and nothing else. I certainly hope so."

"It is either subterfuge or really sloppy workmanship or fraud," Brooks says.

Some Special Attention

Such hostility is rare in congressional hearings on defense spending, but the incident was a particularly egregious one (more on that in a minute). And the company involved seems to merit some special attention, having raised the routine conflicts of interest in military contracting to a fine art.

Unquestionably, the military has been good to E-Systems. The Army's generosity vaulted it from relative obscurity to preeminence in the communications and electronic warfare market. And E-Systems has been good to the military—or at least to former military officials. Its corporate headquarters beside the Lyndon Baines Johnson Freeway in North Dallas is populated by men from the highest reaches of defense and intelligence agencies: John W. Dixon, president, is a former assistant comptroller for the Department of Defense; L. K. Lauderdale, vice president, spent six years with the CIA, directing the division of science and technology; W. F. Raborn, member of the board of directors, was head of the CIA for 14 months during the Johnson administration; Eugene Berg, vice president, is a former Assistant Secretary of the Army; and there is a long list of other brass from the Air Force, Navy, Army, CIA, National Security Agency, and Federal Aviation Agency.

Four years ago, a group of investors headed by John Dixon bought E-systems from the conglomerate Ling-Temco-Vought, and since then the company's sales have doubled—to more than $320 million a year. During that period, E Systems was steered to a $32-million contract with the Korean Defense Ministry, a deal that was close to being locked up by another firm until the Army stepped in.

Electrospace Inc., a small radio manufacturer in New York City, began negotiating with the Korean government in October 1969 to supply field radios to the Korean army. In 1971, samples were sent to Korea and an agreement was reached for the Oriental Precision Co. in Seoul to assemble components produced by Electrospace in New York. In January 1972, representatives of Oriental Precision visited the Electrospace plant. Although no contract had been signed, officials of Electrospace con-

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During that period, E-Systems was steered to a $32-million contract with the Korean Defense Ministry, a deal that was close to being locked up by another firm until the Army stepped in.

sidered the prospect sufficiently bright to start production plans.

While the authors of the Small Business Act, who specifically designated government procurement as a means of assisting and protecting companies like Electrospace (300 employees), might have been warmed by such a transaction, the Army had other ideas.

Sometime before May 4, 1972, the Defense Security Agency's foreign military sales desk decided that the Korean contract would have to be bid competitively. As later explained by the Pentagon press office, that decision was based on the fact that the Koreans would be purchasing the radios with U. S. military grants, which require, under procurement regulations, competitive bidding.

Fair enough, it seemed. A dozen or more companies were in the radio manufacturing business and all should have had a shot at the contract. But on May 4, the U. S. Army Electronics Command solicited "planning" bids from only two companies, Electrospace and E-Systems. Asking for planning bids is a common practice, designed to give a governmental agency some notion of what the cost of a contract will be. But in this case, the solicitation served mainly to draw E-Systems into a lucrative market. There is no evidence that E-Systems, prior to the solicitation, was even aware that the Korean Army was shopping for field radios.

An evaluation of the planning bids revealed that Electrospace had the lower price and probably would be the low bidder in formal competition. On July 26, the U. S. Military Assistance Group in Korea requested that formal bids be solicited and delivered on August 25.

On August 17, however, an important meeting was held in the Pentagon, attended by representatives of the office of the general counsel, the Electronics Command, Headquarters U. S. Army Logistics, and the Defense Security Agency. It was decided that competitive bids would not be necessary. The Koreans could designate the supplier. The reason? The purchase would not be made with U. S. grants, but with "military credits"—repayable loans. Since the Koreans were going to pay back the money, they could spend it any way they liked.

Electrospace did not immediately abandon its pursuit of the contract. It protested the bid cancellation, and a few months later, Halsey Hubbard, a vice president, visited Seoul to try to resume the talks.

"Forget it," he told his boss later, "their minds are made up."

Indeed they were. On July 13, 1973, the Korean Defense Ministry asked that a "sole source" contract be awarded to E-Systems, and a memo of understanding between the two governments was signed on August 14.

It provided for an initial $8.4-million worth of radios, $2.6 million of which would come from military grants, a funding source that the Pentagon now claims requires competitive bidding.

Given the U. S. military's strong advisory role in Korean military affairs since the 1950s, it is worth noting that two months after the Koreans designated E-Systems as their supplier, Lt. Gen. Robert Nelson Smith resigned as Chief of Staff of United Nations Command/U.S. Forces in Korea to become E-Systems' director of Far East Operations. His duties are officially listed as public relations.

If the Army behaved curiously in

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Over a period of four months, with no significant change in the design specifications but a substantial reduction in the quantity, the E-Systems unit price dropped from $799.50 to $528.

aiding E-Systems in Korea, its actions were even more remarkable in dispensing a 1974 contract to the Memcor division of E-Systems—a contract that was revised and relet four times before E-Systems came in low, and one that mysteriously grew from $2.8 million to $11 million despite protests from the General Accounting Office.

This is the chronology of the transaction that Assistant Secretary Harold Brownman was summoned to discuss with the Brooks subcommittee in June of 1976:

On November 27, 1973, the U. S. Army Electronics Command solicited bids for 6,990 AN/PRC 77 radio sets for use by U. S. forces and an optional 10,000 units for sale to foreign customers. Five companies responded with bids, but only three were deemed valid. Bristol Electronics of New Bedford offered the low price of $3,726,284, E-Systems of Dallas was high ($5,588,515), and Electrospace Inc. of New York was square in the middle.

Instead of awarding the contract, the Army made a minor change in the specifications—it related to "interchangeability" and was not considered a price factor—and asked for new bids. None of the competitors altered their prices and Bristol remained the low bidder.

Again the Army did not make the award. According to a "procurement history" submitted to the subcommittee by the contracting officer, Robert J. Crawford, the Army negotiated with Bristol and held another bid letting with no change in the specifications. Only the E-Systems price changed, dropping from $5.5 million to $4.4 million and putting the company in second place.

On February 21, 1974 the Army again made minor changes in the specifications—deleting quality assurance provisions—and asked the three companies to submit cost impact statements. None changed its price. Bristol remained low.

On February 25, 1974 there was another contract change. This one, by any production logic, could be expected to alter the unit prices upward. The Army scratched 1,636 units from the contract quantity, asking now for 5,464 units.

Not surprisingly, Bristol increased its unit cost. But E-Systems lowered its unit cost by $150 to exactly $5 below Bristol's original quotation.

Over a period of four months, with no significant change in the design specifications but a substantial reduction in the quantity, the E-Systems unit price dropped from $799.50 to $528.

The $2,884,992 contract was awarded to E-Systems on March 14, and Bristol filed an immediate protest. On July 11, the General Accounting Office upheld the protest and ordered the Army to re-bid the contract. Although the bidding had been delayed through four months of specification changes, the Army now pleaded urgency and persuaded the GAO to let the contract stand.

Eventually the GAO relented, but on one condition: the Army was not to exercise the option for the additional 10,000 radios. The Army agreed.

"We made that recommendation in the belief that such action would

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eliminate the gravamen of the protest and any possibility of windfall profits by E-Systems on the option quantity," Paul G. Dembling, the GAO's general counsel, told the subcommittee. "The Army informed us that because of our recommendation it would not exercise the option."

What the Army did was "modify" the contract and order the 10,000 additional units—all within a few weeks of the GAO recommendation. Under the original contract, the Army paid $528 per unit. Under the modified version, the prices ranged up to $943, which explained to the subcommittee's satisfaction how E-Systems managed to make such drastic cuts in its original bids.

"The Army," Brooks said, "being somewhat resourceful in getting what they want done, did not exercise the option. They accepted modifications and ordered another 10,000 of those radios. They did not exercise the option. They just got 10,000 more. It is called semantics. The Army apparently ignored this recommendation. It modified. That's a new word for change. It's a brand new word. They got one of those thesauruses and looked it up. Did this action not circumvent clearly the recommendation of the GAO?"

"It would appear that it did, yes sir," the GAO's Dembling replied.

"You make a good judgement. You make a good decision," Brooks persisted. "Then they just play games with you like you're in the third grade and they run right around you and go and do as they please."

Brownman and his generals followed Dembling before the subcommittee, but they too were unable to placate the congressmen. The Army had prolonged the bidding, but pleaded urgency in commencing with a contract that was under protest. It blatantly skirted a GAO directive. It bought radios for itself at $528 apiece, then contracted for its foreign customers to pay as much as $943 for them.

"I would feel like I would not want you to buy anything for me," Brooks said. "I will just shop for myself, thank you."

[By the way, on July 15, four days after the GAO ruled that the Bristol protest had merit, Eugene E. Berg resigned as Assistant Secretary of the Army (Installations and Logistics). A year later he became a vice president of E-Systems. Berg has maintained that he was not involved in the contract and had "never heard of E-Systems until well after that." But in the appendix to the hearings transcript is a memo, dated March 13, 1974, written by Col. Robert D. Worthen, acting deputy director for material acquisition, to the command of the U. S. Army Material Command. It refers to a letter requesting authority to award the contract to E-Systems prior to resolution of the Bristol protest—a letter that was "hand delivered" to the Assistant Secretary, who was Berg. "The request is hereby granted," Worthen's memo said, "by direction of the Assistant Secretary . . . . "]

The Appearance of Partiality

Additional procurement contracts for AN/PRC 77 radio contracts were to be let for bid by early summer 1977. Less than a year had passed since Rep. Brooks had recessed his subcommittee with this admonition: "The Department of the Army needs to have a tightening up of its methods and procedures in awarding government contracts. Not only should there be fairness toward and equality among bidders, but there should not even be the appearance of partiality . . . . "

When the Army wrote its specifications for the 1977 contracts, it included two notable provisions. The contractor would have to have previous experience manufacturing the equipment for the government, and the capacity to produce 1,000 units a month.

"There's only one company that could meet those requirements," says Nathan Hardy, aide to Sen. Edward Brooke, "and that is E-Systems." ■

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political book notes

Public affairs books to be published in September.

Agency of Fear: Opiates and Political Power in America. Edward Jay Epstein. Putnam's, $9.95. One day in 1971, a Volkswagen camper, a snorkel projecting from its roof, patrolled the streets of Marseilles to the wonderment of the citizens. Driven by an American narcotics agent, the VW carried equipment designed to sniff out laboratories using acetic acid to extract heroin from morphine. Unfortunately, salad oil caused the same beeps as acetic acid. The operation succeeded in charting on a street map the restaurants of Marseilles.

Not all was so ludicrous in the war on heroin, a war seen by Epstein as the vehicle through which Richard Nixon tried to effect a coup d'etat. Epstein, who established his reputation as an investigative reporter with *Inquest*, his report on the Warren Commission, contends that American presidents reign but do not rule, their power being circumscribed by the ability of the bureaucracy, particularly such investigative agencies as the FBI, IRS, and the CIA, to leak damaging information. Nixon tried to counteract the bureaucracy's power, Epstein hypothesizes, by creating a special investigative unit to maintain clandestine surveillance over government officials and newsmen. But the bureaucrats—and this is a great point in their favor—were strong enough to destroy Nixon in the end.

Nixon discovered early the political hay to be made by playing on the public's fears. Calling his opponents soft on communism won him election to Congress, but his defeat in 1960 persuaded Nixon that the communist menace had lost its potency. The new string to play on was fear for personal safety; the new targets were judges and government officials soft on crime.

Heroin was the answer the White House developed for the joint problem of dramatizing the President as a crime-buster and creating an investigative agency to curb the bureaucracy. The link between heroin and crime was the dubious theory that a substantial portion of crime is committed by addicts who rob and mug to feed their habit. Nixon had seen Nelson Rockefeller cynically and successfully exploit that rationale in New York. From G. Gordon Liddy came memos suggesting a White House police unit with uncommon powers to deal with drug abuse.

With the 1972 election only 18 months away, the White House contrived to transform a small addiction problem into Doomsday. News was leaked that American ambassadors to various countries were being recalled over the issue of drug traffic. White House staffers slipped *Time* and *Newsweek* stories on the spreading heroin crisis. Television producers were called to Washington, ushered into Nixon's presence, and enlisted in the crusade. (They responded like puppets: Name of the Game, Hawaii Five-O, The FBI, Mod Squad, Marcus Welby, M. D., and Room 222 rushed to do episodes dealing with heroin.)

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Rigged statistics were disseminated. Data that produced an estimate of 69,000 addicts in 1969 was reworked to yield 560,000 in 1971. The seizure of heroin that a trafficker could replace for $5,000 was reported as having a "street value" of $210,000.

The climax of this build-up was to be a presidential declaration of national emergency and a concomitant sweeping reorganization of the government. On June 13, 1971, with the emergency on the launching pad, *The New York Times* decided to publish the Pentagon Papers. The ensuing furor upstaged the heroin crisis.

But the White House's appetite for a special police force had been whetted. The Plumbers, set up as an ad hoc unit to get Daniel Ellsberg, donor of the Pentagon Papers, was succeeded in January 1972 by the Office of Drug Abuse Law Enforcement. ODALE, created by executive decree, soon had strike forces in 33 cities, which consisted of local police and feds requisitioned from the various drug-interested government agencies. (ODALE dramatically set up a heroin hotline in an abandoned mine shaft, leased 20 toll-free telephone lines, and, in a hyped-up television campaign, invited tips on heroin pushers: 33,000 calls came in, resulting in four arrests and the seizure of two grams of adulterated heroin with an estimated street value of $2.)

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abruptly ended with the Watergate arrests. As the bureaucratic fiefdoms struck back, a flood of leaks linking the burglars to the White House washed out of government the men slated for key posts in the "reorganization."

"If," writes Epstein, "the Watergate burglars had not been arrested and connected to the White House, the Drug Enforcement Agency (ODALE's expanded successor) might have served as the strong investigative arm for domestic surveillance that President Nixon had long sought. It had the authority to request wiretaps and no-knock warrants, and to submit targets to the IRS; and with its contingent of former CIA and counter-intelligence agents, it had the talent to enter residences surreptitiously, gather intelligence on the activities of other agencies and interrogate suspects . . . ."

Epstein offers a considerable amount of new material, much of it from Egil Krogh's files, to support his contention that Nixon coolly sought to establish his own police arm to master the bureaucracy. Whether or not he has quite proven the calculated intent, he has convincingly portrayed the dynamics at work within the executive branch: the tension between the raw power of the presidency and the resilience of the bureaucracy—an aspect of the system of checks and balances the Founding Fathers never envisioned.

—*Leonard Reed*

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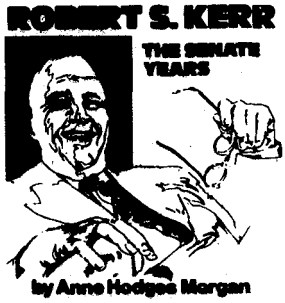

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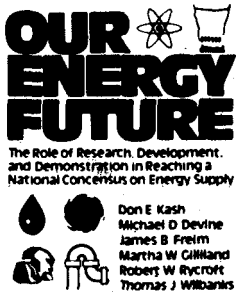

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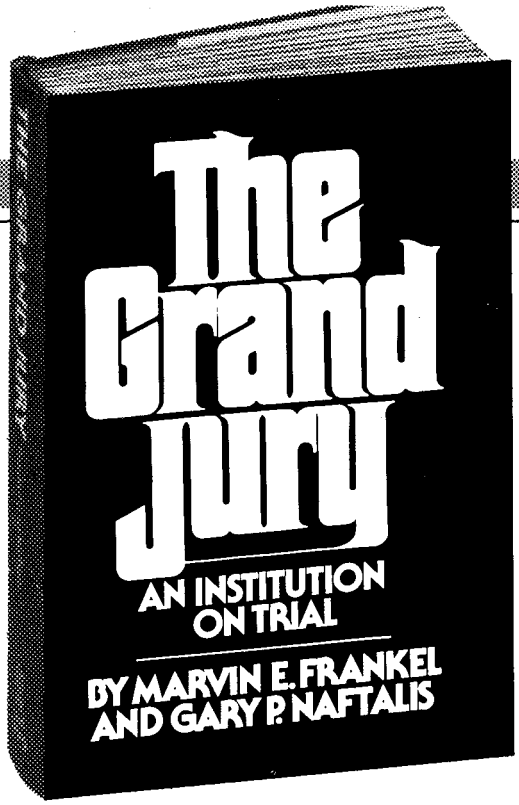

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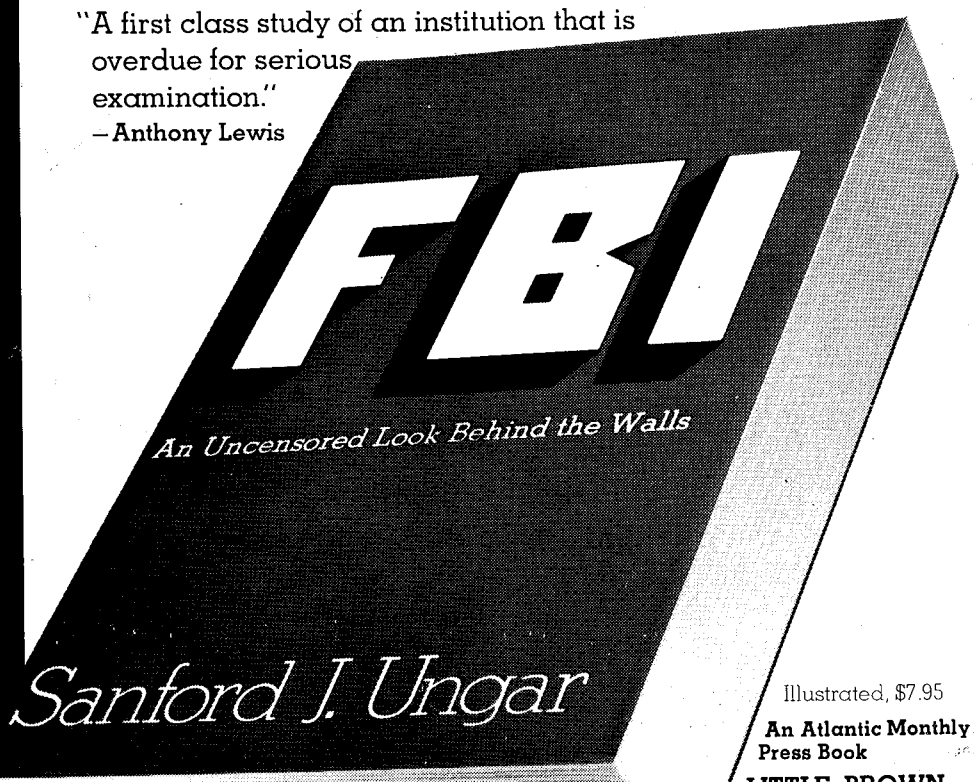

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